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ROTUNDA

the magazine of the Royal Ontario Museum

SAVING INDONESIA'S RAINFORESTS

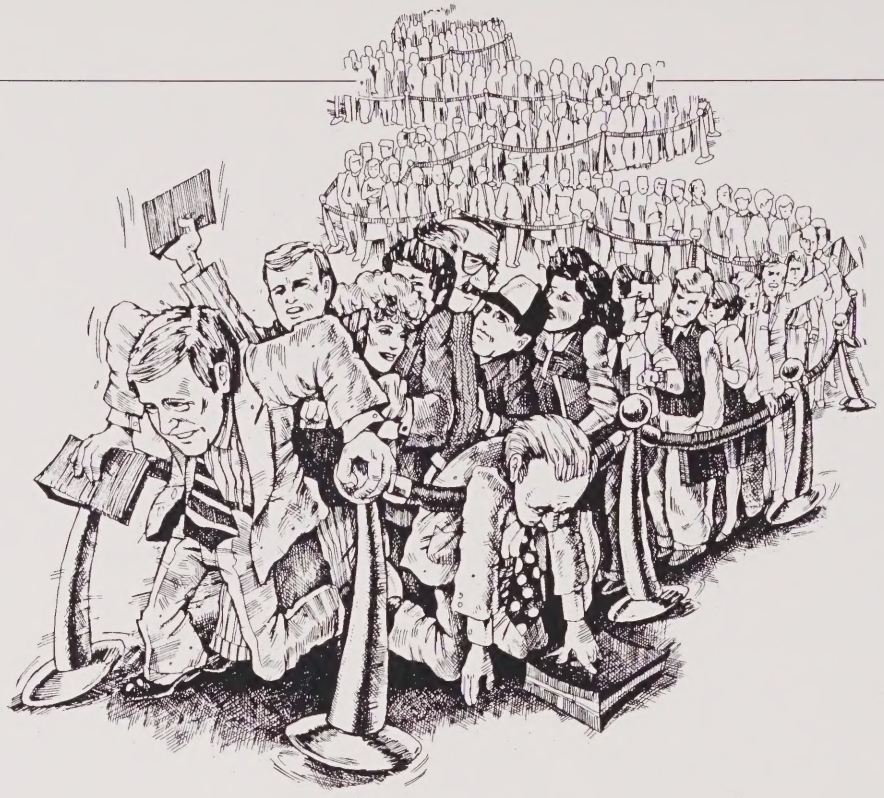
YEMEN'S ENIGMATIC CITADEL

PRINTMAKING AND SILVER-SMITHING

FINE ART OR CRAFT?

THE BIRTH OF THE NEWS

MAPPING KLONDIKE GOLD



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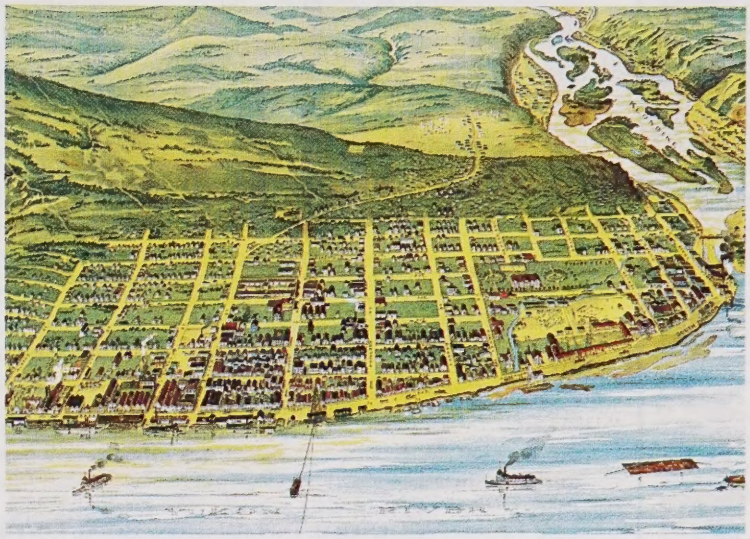

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COVER
Located 2600 metres above sea level where the climate is always cold and damp, this moss forest represents one of the protected areas of the Arfak Mountains Conservation Area in Indonesia. The Hatam people who live there are allowed to hunt according to their traditions. To find out about conservation programs in Indonesia turn to page 40. *Photo by Ian Craven.*

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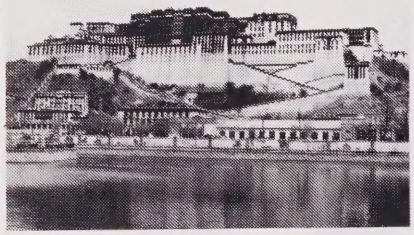

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EDITOR'S NOTE

WHAT IS THE VALUE OF one human life compared to that of a whole rainforest? To local populations, who have been expelled from the forests as a result of conservation policies, the answer is obviously "very little." These people, among the poor of the Third World, feel their own existence to be far more tenuous than that of the forests and so it is not surprising that they harbour resentment.

But there is hope. Indonesia is one of several countries that has finally come to understand that by ensuring the well being of the people from the rainforest regions, it is possible to gain their cooperation in protecting the forests. In our cover story, Stephen Nash and Ian Craven write about the rainforest management that they have introduced to regions of Irian Jaya, Indonesia, with the full support of the Hatam people who have traditionally lived in the forests and who have been permitted to stay.

On the subject of values, this time on the lighter side, Howard Collinson of the ROM's European Department has written an article in which he pokes large holes into the arguments about what distinguishes fine art from craft. His inspiration has been four exceptional 18th-century prints, recently acquired by the ROM, that were produced in Augsburg, Germany, an important commercial centre. The prints were originally produced as model sheets for the decoration of everything from silverware to ceramic tiles. Art historians would normally consider the prints as craft because of their mundane function. Does this make sense?

ROM archaeologist Ed Keall reports that Yemen, too, has turned into a place to poke holes, that is, holes in walls. He explains how the ROM's restoration of the citadel in Zabid has been like working on archaeological remains located above the ground. Probing behind the cracks of badly damaged walls has revealed some surprising architectural details that provide information about the many changes that have been made to the building as well as about the people who occupied it.

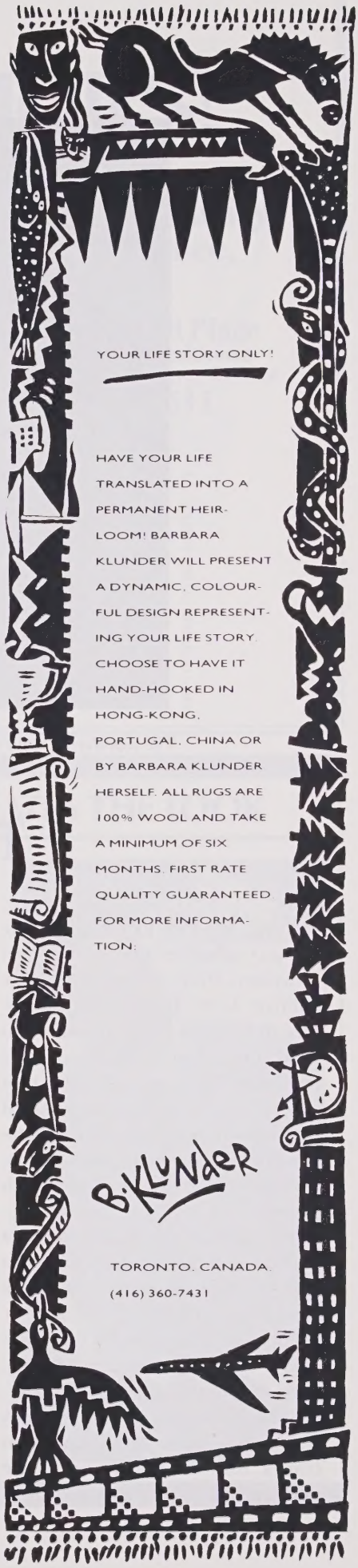
Jeffrey Murray, an archivist with the National Archives of Canada, turns our attention from Indonesia, Germany, and Yemen back to Canada in his article, which explains that there was more than fools' gold to mislead prospectors during the Klondike gold rush. Maps created by outfitters, landowners, and others with vested interests in the Klondike subtly seduced prospectors into taking routes north that were neither safe nor fast and choosing particular gold fields that were neither rich nor readily accessible.

And if that bit of Canadian history is not scandalous enough, Douglas Fetherling's article on the birth of the Canadian press will more than simply raise the eyebrows of those who believe in unbiased news reporting. The noted cultural historian writes about such journalistic episodes as Sir John A. Macdonald's founding of his own newspaper, *The Mail,* while he was prime minister, to counter the opinions of the Grit newspaper , *The Globe.*

With that summary of the features that we feel are "fit to print" we hope you will now enjoy this issue of *Rotunda.*

Sandra Shaul

Sandra Shaul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PHOTOGRAPHY: GLORIA VARLEY

The wonderful scent of basil is one of the best signs of summer. To many of us basil is summer.

The Scent of Summer

BASIL, IT'S FAIR TO SAY, IS THE OBject of more intense devotion nowadays than almost any other culinary herb. Despite our notorious fickleness when it comes to food ins and outs, the love affair has been heating up for the past several years and shows no signs of cooling. What is it about this pungent plant, cousin to mint, lavender, and thyme, that inspires such passion?

For anyone who has stood in a midsummer garden and picked a leaf of basil, or even brushed a basil plant in passing, the answer is obvious right away. It's that wonderful scent, intense, almost spicy. Like rosemary, another relative, basil's perfume can instantly transport us to Mediterranean climes. And the flavour fulfils the perfume's promise. To many of us basil is summer. It's as simple as that.

This strong scent comes from essential oils in the leaves and stems whose original function was to fend off potential enemies, as most aromatic oils are at least somewhat toxic to bacteria, insects, and animals. It's hard to imagine that basil would ever have seemed noxious, yet proponents of companion planting swear that putting some near tomatoes or roses can deter certain pests. Perhaps it's chiefly humans who overcame some early aversion and now positively relish what they may have avoided. (Unfortunately, earwigs must have overcome their aversion too, for they seem inordinately fond of basil's tender leaves. Growing the herb in half-barrels helps, as do shallow saucers of beer placed out at evening, in which the greedy insects drown.)

Native to tropical India, Africa, and Asia, *Ocimum basilicum* travelled through the Middle East to Europe. It reached Britain by the early 16th century, where it was first used as a strewing herb and for snuff, and arrived in America during the 17th century. Along the way it had to accommodate itself to less steamy surroundings, yet even today basil, as one writer put it, falls over if you even mention frost. It needs warm soil and lots of sun to thrive, although if planted in a pot indoors, lights and strict attention to temperature and humidity can sometimes bring it through the winter in an unfriendly northern climate.

O. basilicum is the common large-leafed plant, but there are many

other varieties. *O. minimum* is the bushy small-leafed basil beloved in Genoa and known to Italian seedsmen as *Nano verde*, "the green dwarf." Opal basil exchanges the usual light-green foliage colour for wine-red, but while it may look pretty in a flower border, I've never much liked its taste at the table. Lemon basil, with a pronounced citrus tang, on the other hand, is wonderful in food, and basils boasting hints of cinnamon, anise, even camphor, all have their advocates.

One unusual member of the clan is *O. sanctum*, the holy basil of India, dedicated to Krishna and Vishnu. Under British rule it was considered sufficiently sacred to be used for swearing oaths in court, since the Bible obviously would not do. It is grown around many Hindu temples and homes as a protective talisman, and a sprig is often placed on the breasts of the dead to safeguard them in the afterlife.

The name basil may derive from the Greek *vasilikos*, meaning royal, for it might at one time have been reserved for the king's use. It could also come from the Latin *basilicus*, a basilisk or fire-breathing dragon, perhaps because the plant was considered a charm against the dread creature. That's not the only magical property attributed to this versatile herb. In eastern Europe it was once believed that a man would adore any woman who presented him with a sprig. Another love divination involves placing two fresh leaves on a glowing ember. If they burn quietly to ashes, the relationship will be harmonious. If they crackle, life together will be filled with quarrels. And if the leaves fly apart, watch out: it would be wise to pick another partner.

While we're on the subject of magic, let's consider pesto, which may well be basil's most exquisite incarnation. Italian food authority Giuliano Bugialli cites a recipe in Virgil as the oldest known version, and it's also related to the many green sauces found in Renaissance cookbooks. The name refers to the

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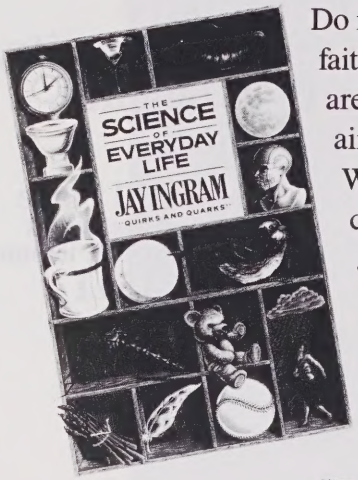

Do male house sparrows make faithful mates? If a man and a woman are sitting next to each other on an airplane, who gets the armrest? Why will Wile E. Coyote never catch the roadrunner?

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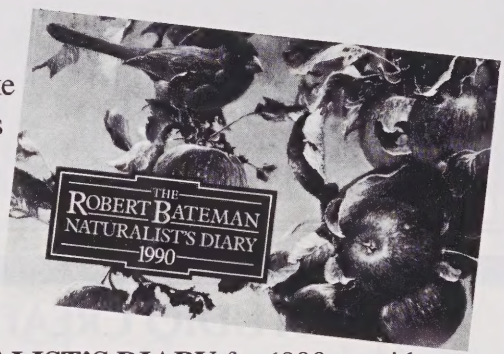

Do male mallards make good mates? How does a lemur catch its food? Why does the male sockeye salmon turn bright red and green?

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ROTUNDA MAGAZINE

pestle traditionally used to crush the herb, and quite a few cooks still swear by this method, food processors notwithstanding. Recipes—from Provence as well as Italy—vary widely and serious arguments about ingredients abound. Four things are sacrosanct: basil, garlic, olive oil, and grated cheese. Pine nuts and walnuts are usual additions (and these date from the old recipes). The cheese may be from sheep's milk, such as pecorino, or from the easier-to-find parmesan or romano, or a mixture. Butter is a relatively recent addition, and some variations add fresh parsley or even a little cooked spinach to give a darker green. What results from this alchemy is one of the world's tastiest, most pungent sauces. It's a wonder poems haven't been written in praise. Although it's traditionally used as a dressing for hot pasta or sliced ripe tomatoes, or stirred into various soups, the following salad makes an interesting addition to the repertoire. Quantities are entirely up to you.

White Bean Salad With Pesto

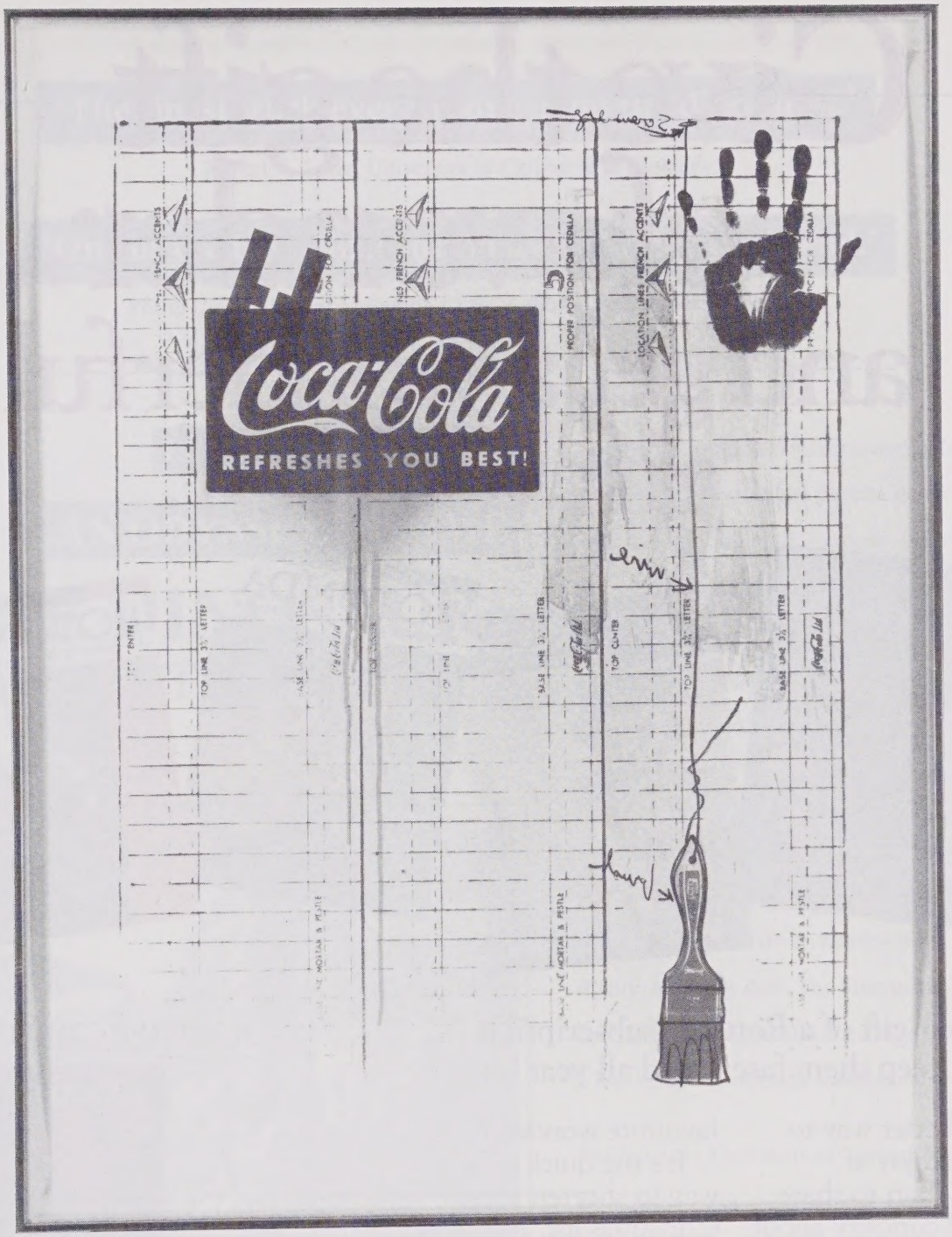
Ingredients

- cooked white kidney beans, or canned beans rinsed and well drained
- pesto from your favourite recipe
- ripe tomatoes, peeled, seeded, coarsely chopped, and drained for a few minutes in a sieve
- good quality olive oil (optional)
- sea salt and freshly ground black pepper
- basil sprigs for garnish

Method

• Combine the beans with as much pesto as you like and let stand for 20 minutes or so to allow the flavours to mingle. Then add a good quantity of the chopped tomatoes. Dribble on a little more oil, if the mixture seems to need it, and season with salt and pepper. Serve at room temperature, garnished with basil sprigs.

GLORIA VARLEY



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Jasper Johns: *Untitled (Coca-Cola and Grid)* (Field 144; Gemini 294), lithograph in colors, 1971. Sold at Christie's New York on May 9, 1989 for US $30,800. Property of a Canadian consignor.

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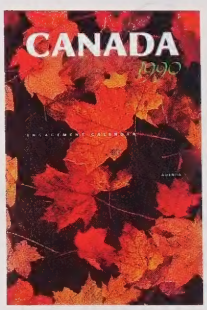

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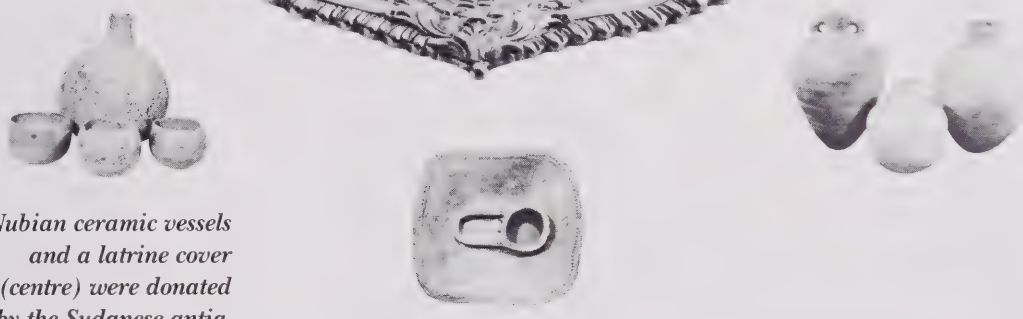

Nubian ceramic vessels and a latrine cover (centre) were donated by the Sudanese antiquities authorities.

PHOTOGRAPHY, ALAN HOLLETT

The story behind a Moose Factory silver salver

THE CANADIAN DECORATIVE ARTS Department has recently acquired a remarkable piece of fur-trade memorabilia, a small silver-footed salver produced by Ebenezer Coker in London, England, in 1766. In 1817 the salver was inscribed and engraved, and presented to Benjamin Bell, captain of the Hudson's Bay Company ship *Emerald*, in recognition of the aid that he provided to the people of Moose Factory during the winter of 1816-17. It is exceptional to find any engraved presentation piece with such a story behind it.

Moose Factory, located on the shores of James Bay, was a large Hudson's Bay Company fur-trading post. It was the size of a small village, populated by staff of the HBC and their families, and frequently visited by Indians. Although such isolated northern posts did receive provisions by ship from England, to survive the winters they had to depend on their own gardens, livestock, and fishing and hunting wild game.

Following a hard winter in 1815-16, the summer of 1816 was also unusually cold. The pack ice in Hudson Bay impeded shipping all summer; vegetable gardens failed; cattle and other livestock were critically reduced; and even south-migrating fall geese were sparse.

The *Emerald* and the *Prince of Wales*, two ships sailing back to England in early October with 146 passengers and crew, left with insufficent food for the eight-week voyage. Pack ice forced them to turn back and to winter at Charlton Island. The passengers and crew subsisted on wild rabbits and fish, which at least were plentiful.

Still, the people from the stranded ships were better off than those at the Moose Factory trading post, where there was little fish or game. George Gladman, HBC district

master, and James Russell housed some of the ships' passengers, and regularly walked ninety kilometres (fifty-six miles) across the ice on James Bay to "borrow" scarce supplies from Captain Bell and his crews at Charlton Island.

By March the situation was desperate. James Russell, master of the East-Main district, had made another over-ice foray to Charlton Island to "borrow a little meat from the captains in order to eke out 'til spring," which he hoped to repay in geese. As he wrote on 10 March 1817:

Such a year of misery and distress was never known on the E. Main coast. I have more than 14 Indians lying in the woods...to support daily, not one of whom can so much as cut a stick of firewood for themselves, this besides several who weekly visit here from all quarters round E. Main, and a little flour is the only article of food to supply all these demands, as also to supply the Honble. Company's servants. Since Christmas (when the Fishing Creek refused its much wanted support) we have never been able to procure country provisions (wild game; fish) of any kind...As for supplying the captains with fresh beef that is out of my power.

Thanks to the rabbits and fish from Captain Bell on Charlton Island, most inhabitants of Moose Factory survived. The *Emerald* and the *Prince of Wales* restocked provisions and finally left for England on 22 August. Four days later the HBC ship *Eddystone* arrived at Moose Factory with supplies.

James Russell returned to England on the *Eddystone* that October, and presumably bought, had engraved, and presented the salver to Benjamin Bell shortly thereafter. The inscription completes the story.

PRESENTED
To Captain Benjamin Bell
by Order of Messrs. George Gladman, Alexander Christie, and James Russell of MOOSE FACTORY IN HUDSONS BAY In grateful remembrance of his Perseverance and Zeal in Alleviating the SUFFERINGS of themselves & Families occasioned by a great Scarcity of Provisions in the Year 1816.

Captain Benjamin Bell continued commanding various Hudson's Bay Company vessels to and from Hudson Bay until he retired, with pension "during pleasure," in November 1834.

Donald Webster
Canadian Decorative Arts Department

Taking the cover off Nubia

IN RECOGNITION OF THE ROYAL ONtario Museum's contribution to the archaeology of Nubia, the Sudanese antiquities authorities generously donated two dozen objects to the Museum. These included ceramic vessels, beads, an iron knife and iron arrowheads, and even a latrine cover. Some of these newly acquired artifacts will be displayed in the Nubian Gallery, scheduled to open in 1990.

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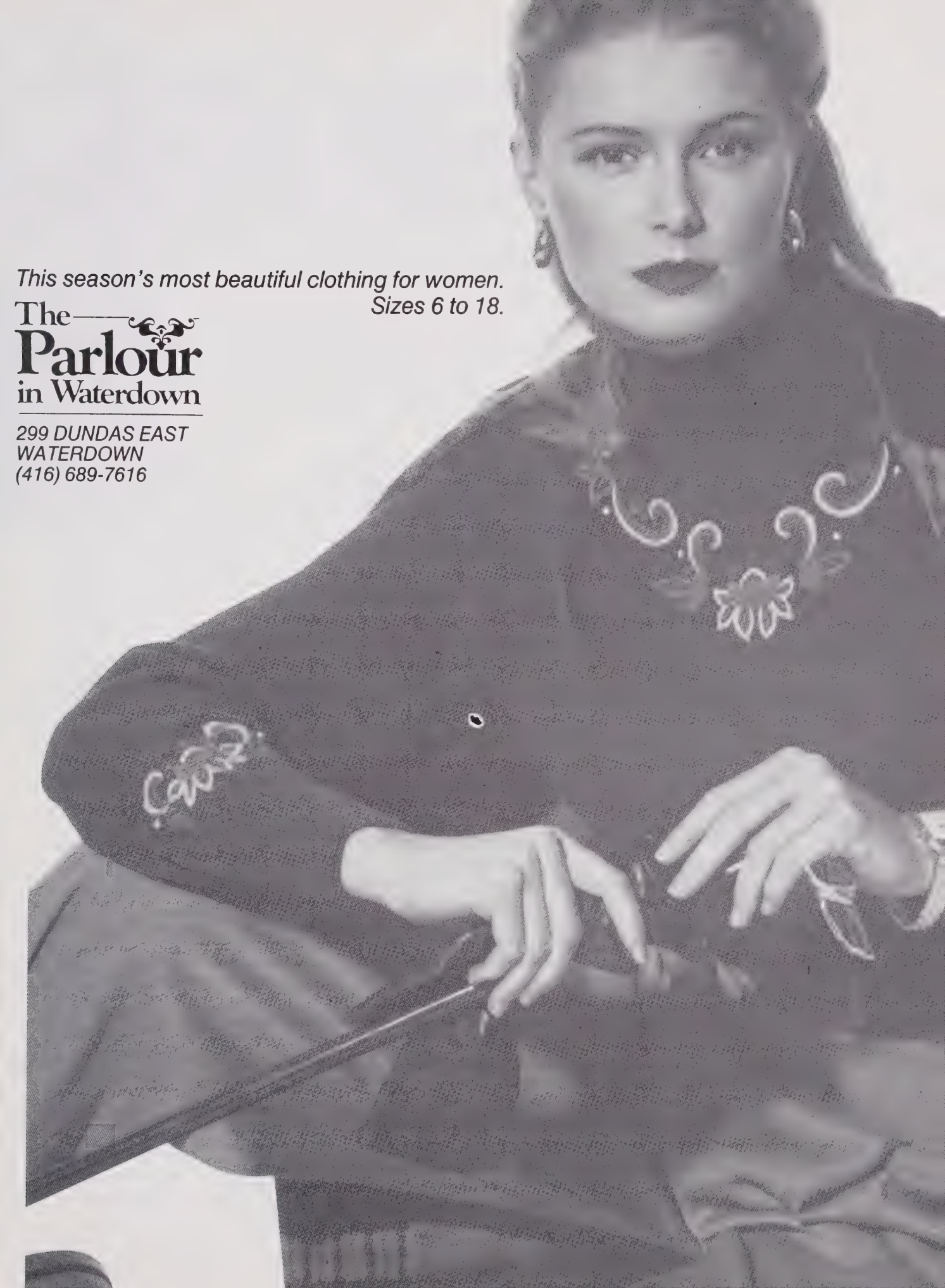
The latrine cover was found at the site of Kadakol in Upper Nubia and dates to the Christian Period, probably around the 10th to 13th centuries A.D. On the outside it looks more like an offering tray, disguising its more humble, true function. The cover is decorated with eight-point stars, common on Nubian art of the period, that served as a magic symbol of protection. The Nubians believed that demons frequented unclean places such as baths, toilets, or graves, and in order to repel the evil spirits they decorated these places with apotropaic symbols such as crosses, "Salomonic knots," and eight-point stars.

Pieces of pottery form a group of utilitarian objects, which although simple in appearance, are very interesting. The earliest pieces are large, wheel-made jars that were discovered by the modern villagers of Hambukol during the erection of a house. These finely made jars (up to a half metre in height) were used for the storage and transportation of goods such as grain or wine. They date to the Meroitic Period, that is, about A.D. 100 to 300.

However, from a scholarly point of view, a more important find was that from a tomb at El Ghaddar, excavated by our team in 1985. A group of pottery vessels found there date to the early X-Group Period (4th century A.D.) and shows the influences of the ceramic traditions of both Central Sudan (handmade, mat-impressed bottles) and Lower Nubia (wheel-made cups and bowls).

Amphorae were still in common use in medieval times. One such vessel, of a type used between c. 550 and 1500 and bearing a simple potter's mark on the shoulder, was excavated at Hambukol in 1986. It was partially broken and fragments were missing, but through the careful work of ROM conservators it is now in displayable condition.

KRZYSZTOF GRZYMSKI
Egyptian Department


This season's most beautiful clothing for women.
Sizes 6 to 18.
The Parlour in Waterdown
299 DUNDAS EAST
WATERDOWN
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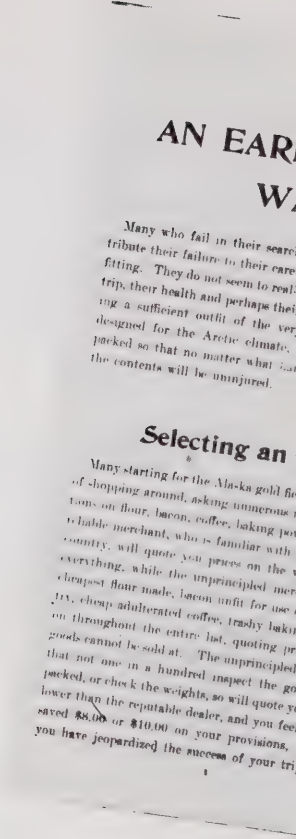
MAPPING KLONDIKE GOLD

More than fools' gold fooled Klondike prospectors

JEFFREY S. MURRAY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lower than the reputable dealer, and you fee
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you have jeopardized the success of your tri

THE DISCOVERY OF PLACER GOLD ON A TRIBUTARY OF THE KLONDIKE River in 1897 took the world by storm. The news burst onto a continent still floundering in the worst economic depression it had ever known. Sensational stories emphasizing the vastness of the gold fields easily captured people's imaginations by reflecting their optimism concerning the untold wealth of the North. For many, the discoveries offered a final opportunity for salvaging some dignity in their lives; for others, it was a last chance for a frontier adventure. In the end, an estimated 100,000 gold seekers started for the Klondike in a stampede that was to affect almost every community in western Canada and the United States.

The stampeders poured by the thousands into the western seaports looking for passage to the gold fields. Their tremendous demand for supplies to carry them through a year of prospecting in the North created a marketing paradise for west coast entrepreneurs, particularly those who were based in San Francisco, Seattle, Portland, Vancouver, and Victoria. Recognizing the fortunes to be made in grubstaking the would-be prospectors, these business communities orchestrated a publicity campaign in an attempt to sustain the stampeders' spending spree by keeping the Klondike in the public's eye for as long as possible.

Maps were found to be particularly useful in promoting the stampede. While purporting to provide general geographical information on this little-known corner of the continent, maps were easily adapted by their publishers to stimulate the public's excitement about the un-

ALL PHOTOGRAPHY COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA

Jeffrey S. Murray is an archivist with the National Archives of Canada, Ottawa. He specializes in 19th- and 20th-century cartography.

your health and life by securing provisions that are of the poorest quality and will probably be totally unfit for use when on the trail a couple of weeks.
The same error is made in the selection of clothing—for instance, the reliable dealer quotes you a genuine Mackinaw Suit at $9.50, the unreliable fellow offers you a suit at $8.50 which is the worst shoddy. The $9.50 Suit will be worth every cent of the price asked, the other perhaps not
A Word About Ourselves
We have had over twenty years' experience in the Alaska trade. We have for years owned stores in the mining regions in the vicinity of Copper River. We have for
operated our own vessels between
Our packing rooms are under the supervision of men experienced on the trail, and every outfit is subjected to the closest scrutiny before it is allowed to
Should you wish to
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GOLD FIELDS
MAP
OF
ALASKA
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES AND BRITISH CO
RECENT GOLD DISCOVERIE
THE MacDOUGALL & SOUTHWICK
717, 719, 721, 723 First Ave., SEATTLE, WASH.
COMPLETE OUTFIT
FOR ONE MAN FOR ONE YEAR
The following is a list of everything needful for a outfit. We again caution you—see to it that you se thing of the very best quality. We guarantee the correct packing of all outfits sold by us. These include the price of waterproof sacks for packi subject to change without notice.
CLOTHING
1 Slicker Lined Canvas Coat (best), each
2 Blanket Lined Overalls (Levi Strauss
2 Suits California Flannel Underwear
1 Dasco—Waterproof and Windproof
1 pair Wool Gloves
1 suits Mackinaw Underwear, full
terproof and steam shrunk, pe
2 Suits Light Weight Underwear
2 Heavy California Overshirts,
2 Cotton Overshirts, each
1 Mackinaw Coat, full 36 or
1 pair Mackinaw Pants, full
1 pair Corduroy Pants, pe
3 pair Overalls, pair
6 pair Heavy Wool So
2 pair German Socks
6 pair Cotton Socks
2 pair California Blank
3 pair Wool Mitts, pair
2 pair Wool Lined Leather Mitts, pai
1 Heavy Cap
1 Wide Brim Hat
2 Sweaters, each
6 Towels, each
1 pair Heavy Suspenders
$2 00 to
.25 to
.35 to
50
50
Agency,
252 ESSEX ST. - SALEM, MASS.
MAP OF
KLONDIKE
ALASKA
AND NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
AND
INFORMATION
ON
Routes, Outfits and Other Topics of Interest.
THIS MAP IS COMPILED FROM THE LATEST OFFICIAL SOURCES AND CORRECTED TO NOV. 1, 1897
The information herein contained has been gained by twenty years in the Alaska Trade.
W. HARDY DAVIS
Real Estate & Insurance
Agency,
252 ESSEX ST. - SALEM
The MacDougall & Southwick Co.
717, 719, 721, 723 FIRST AVENUE
SEATTLE, WASH.
AND
487 BROADWAY, NEW YORK
LOWMAN & HANFORD STATIONERY AND PRINTING CO., SEATTLE
ONS
NMC 0098202

Striking It Rich (Again)

With the discovery of gold in 1897, many Klondike maps were coloured yellow to suggest the great potential for success in the northwestern frontier and the Dawson City gold fields to those down on their luck from the economic depression. The MacDougall and Southwick Company of Seattle used their map to advertise goods and services for the stampeders.

limited potential of the Yukon. Although they often violate concepts of good map-making, these documents now provide an interesting glimpse into 19th-century naivety and facile assumptions about the northern frontier.

The maps produced for the Klondike trade were seldom, if ever, used to advertise brand-name goods. Other forms of advertising were usually reserved for this type of promotion. Instead, maps tended to be used to enhance corporate images and to publicize the various services being offered by western businesses. The Seattle firm of MacDougall and Southwick, for example, used a map brochure to present itself as a reliable company worthy of the stampeders' patronage. The brochure has a map of Alaska and the Yukon on one side; on the other, it features pertinent information on placer mining regulations and Canadian tariff laws. In combination, the map and text support MacDougall and Southwick's image as a company concerned with the stampeder's welfare and his success in the gold fields. It is a clever tech-

nique, one which could easily have been used by a modern-day Bay Street public relations firm.

Maps share with advertising the ability to distort reality. Even the most complex maps are nothing more than a representation of the three-dimensional landscape in scaled, two-dimensional form. The entrepreneur can put this distortion to commercial use by using it to cre-

NMC 0013240

ate a subjective, rather than an objective, interpretation of the landscape. The easiest way to do this is by neglecting to include certain information which might be detrimental to the service or ideas being advertised. For example, one map distributed to the stampeders promoted Lake Bennett in northern British Columbia as the most practical route to the Klondike gold fields. The Lake Bennett route offered a combined water and overland passage that took the stampeders across the Chilkoot Mountains, by either the Chilkoot or White Pass trails, to Lake Bennett and the headwaters of the Yukon River. Of course, the map fails to mention the problems that the stampeders would encounter in hauling their supplies over the mountain passes and in finding suitable transportation for their trip downstream once they reached Lake Bennett. Although it may have been faster than the all-water route that the map lists as the first alternative, it is highly unlikely that many stampeders were able to travel this dangerous and strenuous route in the time suggested. But by exaggerating the benefits of the Lake Bennett route in this fashion, the map-maker was obviously attempting to promote the businesses which had a vested interest in keeping the route open.

A map published by the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1899 also omitted important information in order to capitalize on the Klondike trade. It showed the railway connecting, either directly or indirectly, with all known routes to the gold fields, and it implicitly suggested that

Via Rail?

A map sponsored by the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1899 linked the railway with all known routes to Dawson City, even those which were totally impractical and to a novice possibly life threatening, such as the two "all Canadian trails" that originated in Edmonton.

a stampeder could travel by CPR trains no matter which route he decided to take into the Yukon. It even included the two "all Canadian" trails that originated in Edmonton and passed along the Nelson and Mackenzie rivers. At the time of publication both these routes were known to be totally impractical, even life-threatening if attempted by a novice of northern travel.

5,000 miners went by this route last year, and it is expected over 40,000 people will travel by this same route this Season.

NMC 0008447

No. 1 ROUTE.—Ocean Steamer from Victoria, B.C. to St. Michaels, thence by River Boat to Dawson City, making a total distance of 4,425 miles and taking about six weeks.

No. 2 ROUTE.—Ocean Steamer from Victoria, B.C., to Dyea or Skagway (995 miles), thence over the passes to Lake Bennett (28 miles), thence by River Steamer down stream to Dawson City (575 miles), taking in all about 12 days.

No. 3 ROUTE.—Ocean Steamer from Victoria, B.C. to Wrangel American Territory) distance 750 miles, thence by River Steamer up stream (150 miles), thence on foot over an Indian trail for 150 miles to Teslin Lake, thence down stream 650 miles to Dawson City, taking in all about 25 days.

Easier Read than Done

By understating the travel time to Dawson City via the Lake Bennett route this map misrepresented the hardships that the stampeders would have to endure when hauling their supplies over the mountain passes and the difficulty of finding suitable transportation once they reached Lake Bennett.

All maps present a distorted image to some extent; it is the unavoidable result of reproducing the huge, spherical-shaped Earth on a small flat sheet. Over the years cartographers and mathematicians have developed dozens of projections to deal with the distortion inherent in maps, but all projections have limitations and these can be manipulated to the advantage of an advertiser. The map promoting the Lake Bennett route is typical. It uses a conical projection centred over the North Pole where the lines of longitude converge. From this perspective the latitudes in the northern regions are pulled closer together while the more southern latitudes are spread further apart. East-west distances in southern regions become more exaggerated than north-south distances, and in the end, the Lake Bennett route, which lies almost directly north of Vancouver and Victoria, is highlighted as a shorter route into the Yukon interior than the all-water route through St. Michaels. This deception, which proved profitable for the map-makers, proved fatal to some stampeders who followed the Lake Bennett route.

Advertisers have long recognized that colours have a symbolic value that can help make certain associations or emphasize a particular feature. A number of Klondike maps produced by the private sector ex-

A Continent Paved in Gold

ploited this form of subliminal advertising by colouring the interior of Alaska and Yukon a deep yellow. The obvious association with the gold fields they were attempting to promote was hardly coincidental. The labels used to identify the gold fields were highlighted in a contrasting black or red which was obviously designed to catch the reader's attention and make the association even more prominent.

Modern-day promoters know that if an advertisement is to be successful it must be able to catch the attention of viewers and impress itself on their memories. One popular method by which advertisers of the Klondike guaranteed that their maps would receive some attention was by including some illustrations of the various regions, settlements, and prospectors, along with the map image. The invention of halftone printing had only recently made it possible for publishers to reproduce text and photographs on the same page; consequently, this type of advertisement was particularly attractive to audiences at the turn of the century because of its newness.

NMC 0078696

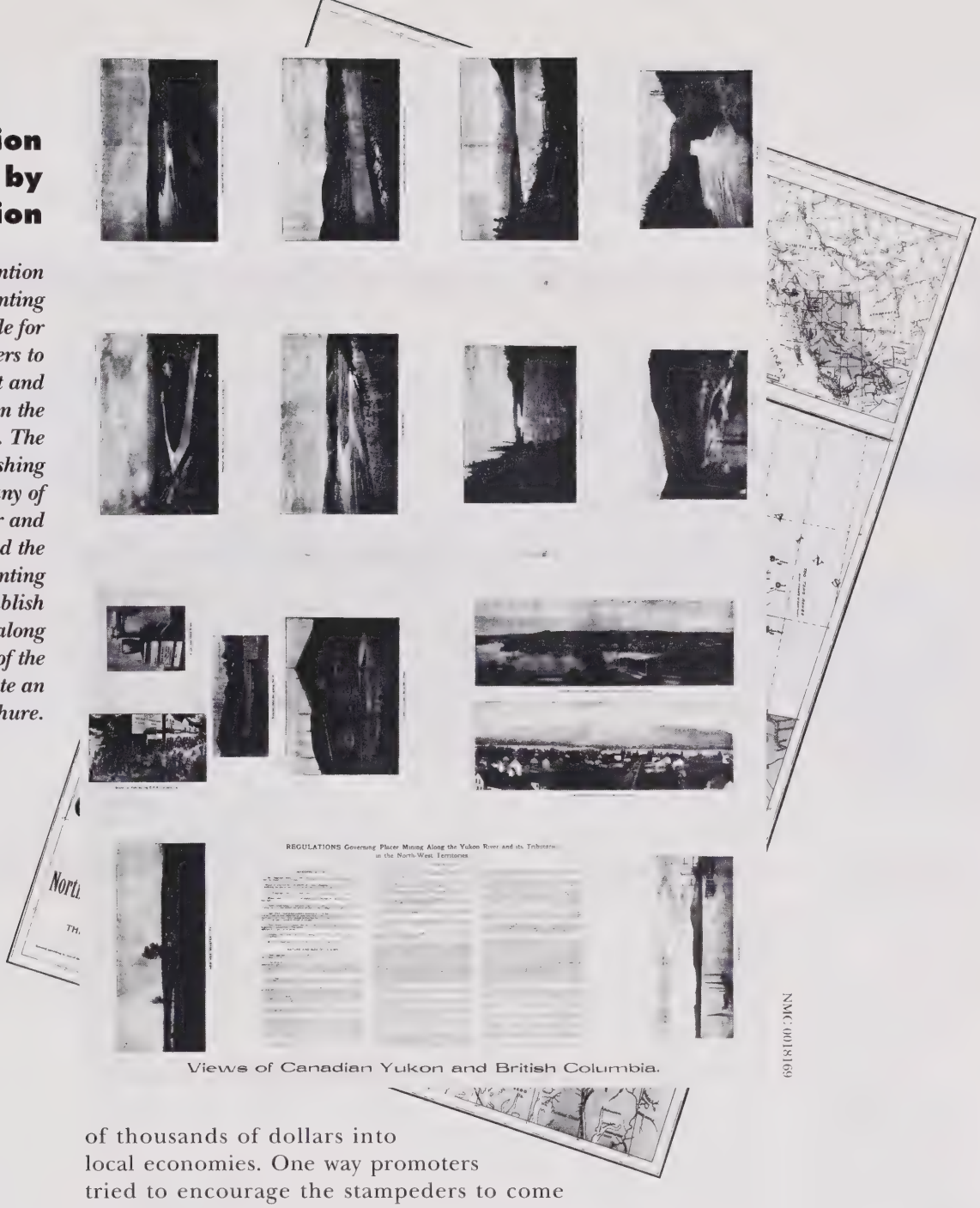
An optimistic projection of the extent and wealth of the gold fields is shown on this map of the northwest. The entire interior of the continent has been divided into gold fields.

The Province Publishing Company of Victoria and Vancouver was one of the first to exploit this new technology. They produced an attractive map brochure, which featured, on its reverse side, twelve different photographs of the Yukon, as well as four views of Vancouver, Victoria, New Westminster, and Nanaimo. The assortment may seem to be a curious one, but by associating these communities in British Columbia with the Yukon, the publishers were no doubt attempting to promote them as points from which stampeders could embark for the Klondike. Such indirect, "soft-sell" techniques were common at the turn of the century and were intended to divert some of the Klondike trade from competing American communities.

The rivalry between American and Canadian cities for a piece of the Klondike action was very intense, as the stampede meant an infusion

Exploitation by Innovation

The recent invention of halftone printing made it possible for publishers to reproduce text and photographs on the same page. The Province Publishing Company of Vancouver and Victoria used the latest in printing technology to publish photographs along with its map of the Yukon to create an attractive brochure.



NMC 001816

Views of Canadian Yukon and British Columbia.

of thousands of dollars into local economies. One way promoters tried to encourage the stampeders to come through their community was by creating the illusion that competing centres were less important. Maps were particularly useful in this task because they could be designed to give less prominence to these competing communities. Promoters were able to emphasize their own city over others simply by giving it a larger label or symbol. In other instances, the promoters just omitted their competitors from the map altogether. This was a simple matter for Canadian publishers, because they could place the bottom edge of their map close to Vancouver and conveniently eliminate all their southern American rivals.

Northern communities too were not averse to using maps as promotional pieces. The Yukon Council adopted the practice when it published a bird's-eye map of Dawson City. Although it was not distributed until after the initial influx of stampeders into the region, the map was obviously designed to promote this frontier mining town as a sophisticated city with all the amenities of its southern counterparts. The muddy streets and makeshift buildings have been represented as a

neat, well-laid-out city bustling with commerce—a community worthy of serious consideration by any investor.

Most of the maps related to the stampede were produced by private printing companies; however, the Canadian federal government also responded to the Klondike trade with two major maps, both of which provided the private sector with material for its own publications. Of

NMC 0021044

Modern Times

This 1903 map of Dawson City was designed to promote the frontier mining town as a sophisticated and comfortable city. The muddy streets and makeshift buildings are represented as a neat well-laid-out city bustling with commerce—a community worthy of serious consideration by any investor.

the two projects, the government's most ambitious was probably the *Yukon Map*. Consisting of ten sheets mapped at a scale of six miles to the inch (3.8 kilometres to 1 centimetre), the series was largely developed from work initiated by the Department of the Interior in connection with the Alaska boundary survey. First published in June 1898, the Yukon Map covered a 200,000-square-mile (518,000-square-kilometre) section of the southwestern Yukon and adjacent British Columbia. It also included smaller maps of the Chilkoot and White passes, the town of Dawson, and the claims staked along Eldorado and Bonanza creeks.

The second map produced by the Department of the Interior was known as the *General Map of the Northwestern Part of the Dominion of Canada*. The preliminary edition was first published in January 1898 and was largely compiled from observations by the department's own Topographical Branch, as well as from exploratory surveys by the International Boundary Commission, the Geological Survey, and the British Admiralty. Despite this impressive list of credits, there were still large areas of the interior that were left blank and were designated as "unexplored."

The private sector copied this map extensively but changed the title and the labels so that the map would appear to be a new item of their own making. One change that a number of companies instigated was

the re-labelling of many of the "unexplored areas" as "gold fields." More often than not, the "gold fields" labels were spaced to include most of the northwestern interior of the continent, even those areas that lay well beyond the Dawson City gold fields. By labelling their maps in this fashion, the publishers were, in effect, reinforcing the widely held notion that the Klondike was just one river in a vast territory, which contained hundreds and thousands of similar waterways. It was assumed that if the Dawson City region could provide such a rich treasure, then the possibilities of the Yukon and all its waterways were almost beyond comprehension.

Some maps produced by private firms also labelled earlier gold strikes, such as those which took place in the Cassiar and Caribou regions of the interior of British Columbia. It is interesting that all these labels were usually applied in the same typeface and colour as the label given to the Dawson City discovery. This technique leads the reader to ignore each region's uniqueness and to assume incorrectly that all the finds were of equal importance to the Klondike gold fields. Such images served the promoters of the stampede by providing visual support for sensational reports on the vast mineral potential of the northern frontier.

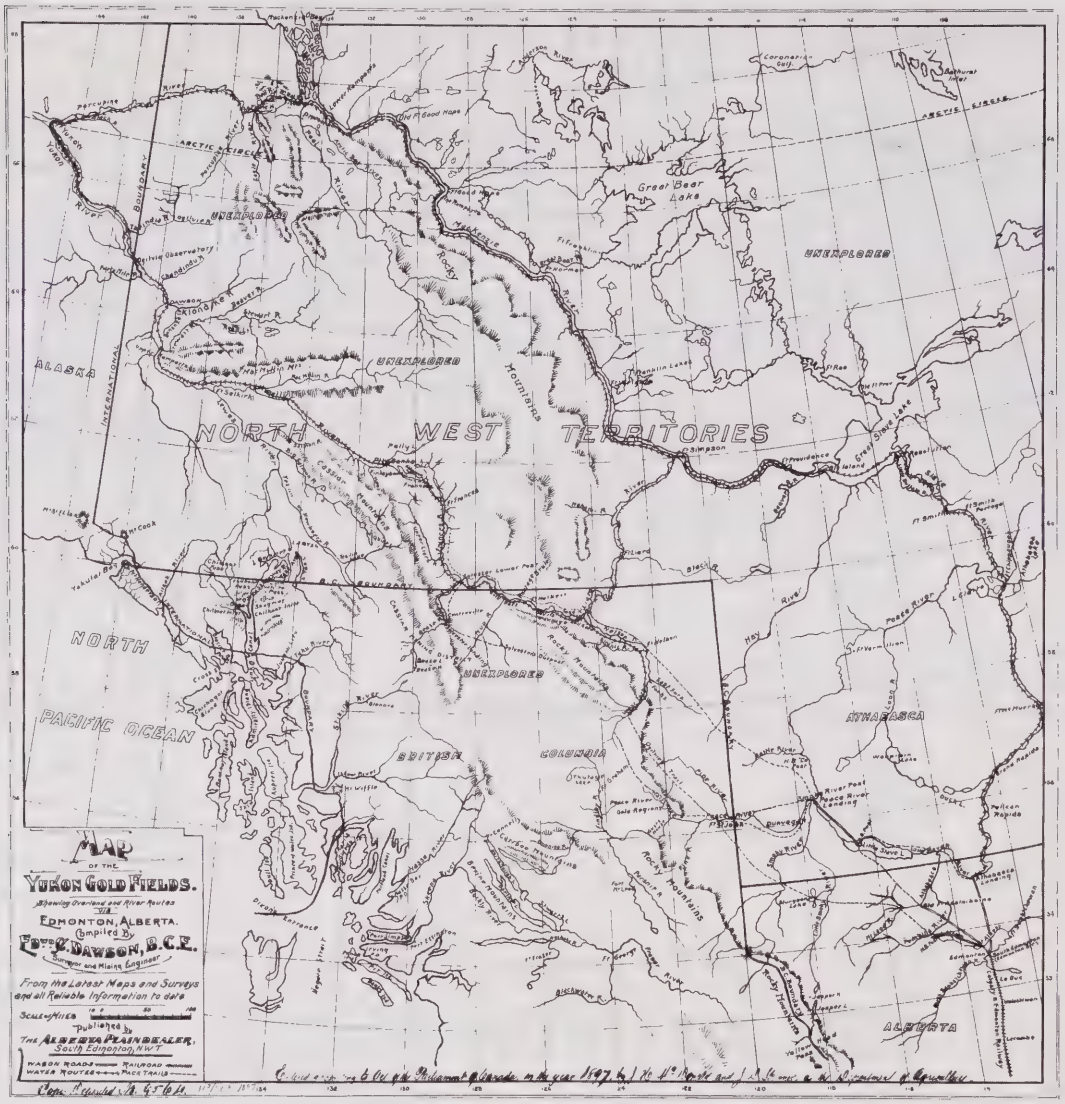
Among the special items produced by the private sector for the Klondike trade were the photographic reproductions of sketch maps sold by enterprising residents of Dawson City to incoming stampeders. On their arrival at Dawson City, the stampeders were naturally quite

NMC 0027874

Honesty at Last

This is the first of ten sheets that comprised the **Yukon Map,** *published by the federal government in June 1898. The map covered a 518,000-square-kilometre section of the southwestern Yukon and adjacent British Columbia, and for the first time detailed the Chilkoot and White passes, Dawson City, and the claims staked along Eldorado and Bonanza creeks.*

anxious to stake a claim in the gold fields, and they required information that would help them to orient themselves quickly and to find the best gold-bearing areas. Lacking proper printing facilities, some local residents met the need by photographing parts of larger maps depicting the Klondike watershed and the major gold deposits. These reproductions, which are about the size of a postcard, must rank amongst



NMC 0012435

Edmonton to the North, Of Course

the earliest photographically reproduced maps in Canada. Although they were reasonably accurate, they neglected to show the stampeders that all the gold-bearing creeks had been staked long before their arrival.

Without all the publicity given to the Klondike by southern promoters, many adventurers probably would not have attempted the arduous journey into this remote corner of the continent. Maps were found to be a particularly useful medium for pushing the extravagant claims of the promoters. They were widely employed by businesses with an interest in publicizing the gold fields as a means of enhancing their own narrow economic self-interests. Klondike maps range from the truly brilliant and inspired to the blatantly deceptive and misguided. At either end of the spectrum, they functioned primarily as instruments of persuasion and were more representative of southern fantasies than northern realities.

By neglecting to show other routes to the Klondike, the map implied that Edmonton was the major departure point for northern travellers. The promotion was completely false for the routes shown along the Nelson and Mackenzie rivers didn't exist.

GOLD FILIGREE, The fast disappearing art of the Imperial Chinese Court.

From time immemorial, Chinese fascination with gold has taken many forms, resulting in rare and decorative works of art. Of them all, none is more appreciated and valued than gold filigree. An exquisite gold craft, practiced by dedicated artisans and perfected over a span of 3,000 years.

Filigree is delicate, intricate ornamental art, created by the twisting, twining and weaving together of gold and silver filaments, some of them as fine as hair. To achieve perfection in filigree work requires nimble fingers, meticulous care and skill.

Archaeological discoveries have established that China's filigree craft was well developed as early as the Shang Dynasty, some 3,000 years ago. The art flourished in the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368 A.D.) and reached a pinnacle of refinement in the subsequent Ming (1368-1644 A.D.) and Qing (1644-1911 A.D.) Dynasties.

During the Yuan and the Ming Dynasties, trade and contact with foreign countries added a new facet to filigree work: gemstone inlays. From Sri Lanka, Indonesia and Burma came precious and semi-precious stones — emeralds, rubies, jadeite, sapphires and cats eyes, lending their lustre to the golden filigree weaves.

Until the turn of the century, gold and silver filigree works were the exclusive province of the ruling class. A fine example of this royal influence is the golden crown of Ming Dynasty Emperor, Wanli, now on display at the Ming tombs in Beijing. This is filigree work at its versatile best, progressing from the most delicate open lace design to the shapely splendour of two dragons and a pearl. This crown, symbol of power of the Son of Heaven, demonstrates the consummate artistry of filigree in the Ming era.

Remember that the filigree work of these long ago days was for the exclusive pleasure of the emperor and his nobles. All filigree, then, was by royal commission, with master craftsmen summoned from all over China to practice their art in the imperial workshops, Beijing.

Unfortunately, the war and turmoil that followed the fall of the Qing Dynasty in 1911, coupled with the tumultuous Cultural Revolution of the Sixties, exacted a heavy toll on the art, bringing it to the brink of extinction. Since the Seventies, the Chinese authorities have endeavoured to revive the art, but it is a formidable task.

A major problem is the age of the six remaining filigree masters in Beijing, ranging from 65 to 70. Still highly creative, they are never-the-less "past their prime". Their new generation successors are few and not yet proficient enough to carry on the consistently high standards of filigree work. It takes years to master the art; and, meantime, exceptional filigree work is very difficult to acquire.

However, further efforts are being made to halt the demise of this traditional Chinese art form. A Hong Kong company specializing in Chinese arts and crafts, China Best Limited, has given unrelenting support to Beijing's six filigree masters, encouraging them to continue their creative work, even in their twilight years.

But this is painstaking work, and only about a dozen filigree items have been produced so far, and only in highly limited editions. However, they epitomize the art and skill learned and practiced over a lifetime by these six master veterans. A few of these masterworks are now available on exclusive offer and may be seen on the following pages.

(turn next page)

CHINA'S BEST LIMITED PRESENTS
THE CONSUMMATE ART OF BEIJING'S

For the exclusive pleasure of American Express® Cardmembers

The Royal Horse of the Tang Dynasty

This noble horse and golden treasure reflects the artistry of China's golden age, the Tang Dynasty. The country enjoyed an unprecedented two centuries of peace and prosperity, during which literature and the arts flourished. And this was made possible by unused but effective military might.

The Tang people were excellent horsemen. Indeed, it is said that the Emperor Li Shimin once kept 400,000 fine chargers in the royal stable. His noble steeds inspired the genre of imperial court sculptures known then and today as: the Royal Tang Horses.

Strength and Majesty Captured in Golden Filigree

One of the six remaining Beijing filigree masters was commissioned to create this Royal Horse of the Tang Dynasty. Crafted from sterling silver, plated with gold, decorated with enamel and gemstone inlays, its artistry excels nature. The full, muscular body exudes strength and majesty. The knotted tail accents the horse's alertness. The eyes sparkle and the two front hoofs are raised, ready for the gallop.

Every part of the statue — from the exquisitely woven golden mane to the gem inlaid bridle and richly adorned saddle — is meticulously wrought by hand.

The Sword of Genghis Khan

He was Genghis, invincible Khan of the Four Seas, successful conqueror of three quarters of the globe, from the vast steppes of Mongolia to Asia Minor, Afghanistan and Iran. From horseback, with favourite sword in hand, he dominated the world and struck fear into his opponents.

Now, a Recreation of the Khan's Sword

The Khan's legendary sword of invincibility was buried with its valiant owner, but legends have enabled experts, commissioned by China's Best Limited, to forge an authentic reproduction.

Beijing's master filigree craftsmen have produced a stunning work of art of which the Khan himself would be proud. Fashioned from sterling silver, plated with 18K gold, it showcases the artistic success of combining filigree with Mongolian silversmith craft, further embellished with gemstones and enamelling work.

Richly Symbolic Decorations

Ornamentations on the Sword are faithful representations of Mongolian decorative art and modern interpretations of Chinese symbolism.

The handle, moulded at the top to resemble a Mongolian hat, is decorated with the motifs of "Jade embraced by Golden Beads" and "Six Flowers encircling a Pearl" which symbolize stability and prosperity for the sword's owner.

6 REMAINING FILIGREE MASTERS

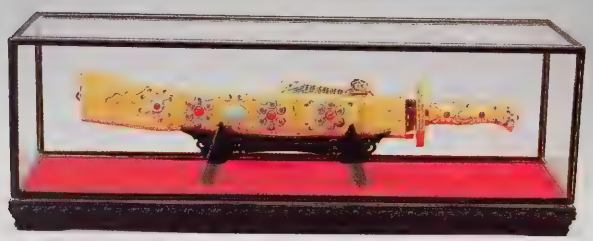
18K Gold-plated Sterling Silver with Gemstones

The Royal Horse of the Tang Dynasty is an exceptional work of filigree art, truly worthy of your collection. The statue is crafted in 18K gold-plated sterling silver and decorated with jade, agate and other shimmering gemstones.

The Royal Horse measures 33 cm in height including the 400-gm rosewood stand. Silver weight stands at 790 gms. Gemstones weigh 32 gms and enamel 14 gms.

Strictly Limited Editions
Order now to avoid disappointment

Due to stringent production requirements, editions of the two filigree masterworks are all strictly limited. So, orders will be treated on a first-come-first-served basis. As befitting such rarities, each filigree artpiece carries a 'Collector's Certificate' issued by Hong Kong's China's Best Limited and the Beijing Jewellery Branch of China National Arts and Crafts Corporation to authenticate its collection value, together with a deluxe collector's box for storage.



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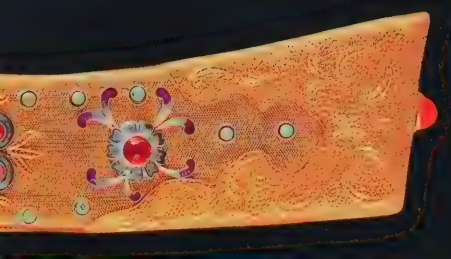

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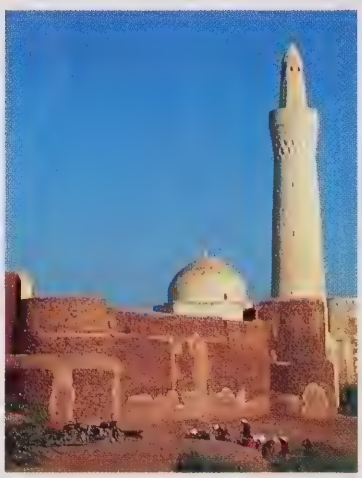
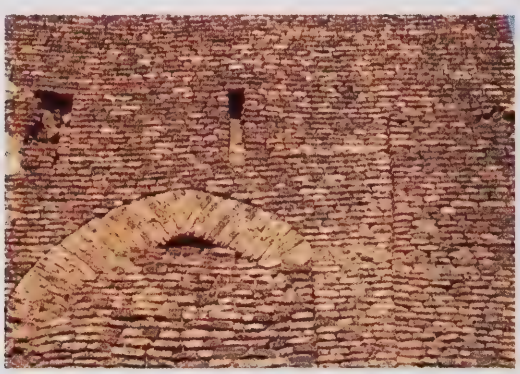
The 1987-88 season of the Canadian Archaeological Mission in Zabid received generous support with a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Revealing the Past Through Reconstructed Walls

For ROM archaeologists the walls of Zabid's citadel have become entrées to the past

Edward J. Keall





Top: Members of the ROM expedition to Zabid, Yemen, have conducted excavations inside and, in this case, outside the walls of the citadel where they have unearthed remnants of the 16th-and 17th-century Turkish occupation of the city. *Bottom:* The many repairs and renovations visible in the citadel walls reflect the structure's complex history. *Facing page:* This bird's-eye view of the citadel shows how badly the building had deteriorated.

Zabid. In the 14th century, this city located near Yemen's Red Sea coast was known internationally for its university. Scholars of Islam and the sciences held court in the city's main mosques. Chroniclers speak of more than two hundred religious establishments.

Today Zabid is a small regional capital in the Yemen Arab Republic, but there are still eighty-two mosques for a population of no more than 7000 people. It was the importance of Zabid's medieval past, which included a famous school of algebra, that first sparked our interest in collecting information about its often complex history and the many visitors and residents who lived in this important university centre. Yet it was by sheer chance that those of us involved in this project initiated by the Royal Ontario Museum also found ourselves increasingly occupied with the study of military fortifications in the Zabid citadel.

Dr. Edward J. Keall is curator in charge of the West Asian Department, Royal Ontario Museum, and project director of the Canadian Archaeological Mission in Yemen.

ALL PHOTOGRAPHY COURTESY E.J. KEALL

Yemen was virgin archaeological territory with the potential for exciting new discoveries

Where the building walls were severely damaged, requiring drastic rebuilding, it became possible for the archaeologists to probe into the core of the structure for clues about its early history. Such was the case with the wall illustrated in the top photo. *Middle:* Less severe damage only requires patching. *Bottom:* In Zabid, it is common practice in all restorations, not just archaeological, to reuse bricks from the building being restored or from other buildings that are too derelict to repair. This workman continues a centuries-old building tradition as he places this brick in a wall of the citadel.

According to eye-witnesses, the citadel was used as a garrison up to one year after the establishment of the Republic in 1962. Now a ruined fort, the citadel made one conjure up romantic images of a foreign legionary outpost. Yet the attention we decided to give to it started with the practical need to find adequate housing.

The potential rewards of choosing Yemen as a place to work, because of the exciting prospects for new discoveries in virgin archaeological territory, were more than matched by the disadvantages. There were no previous investigations on which to base our own plan of action. Only a fledgling—albeit immensely hospitable—Yemeni archaeological service was in operation. And there were no workmen with experience in conducting excavations.

A more automatic choice for excavation in the Zabid area would have been the site of al-Fazzah, on the coast, which had been one of Zabid's many short-lived Red Sea ports. The site was discovered by the ROM team, and excavation would likely have produced a detailed view of life in a medieval port around the 12th to 13th centuries. But however romantic might be the notion of digging on a beach and finding treasures brought in from the Indian Ocean, the ordeal compounded by brackish drinking water, fierce onshore winds, and insects drawn to hot oil lamps inside reed huts more than countered the lure of the exotic. Zabid offered the prospects of housing, supplies, and available labour.

As it turned out, when the choice was made to concentrate on Zabid, it was unexpectedly difficult to find short-term rental accommodation. For the first ROM expedition in 1982, which carried out surface research in Zabid and the surrounding area, our headquarters was a charming though near derelict house, which leaked water knee-deep during heavy rains. In the second year, 1983, as the reconnaissance continued, a one-room block-house on a cotton plantation was graciously lent to us by the Wakidi family of Zabid. It was, however, difficult to produce drawings and perform delicate archaeological tasks when the tiny room also served as kitchen, storeroom, and even dormitory when it rained.

In 1987 a more formal excavation permit, which recognized the Canadian

Archaeological Mission of the Royal Ontario Museum, was signed, and the way was paved for a rundown part of the citadel to be restored and used as a permanent project base and storage facility. In November of that year, when the first excavation program began, the ever-worsening condition of the citadel's buildings was enough to cause despair. Restoring the ruin and turning it into an inhabited national monument appeared beyond the limits of the mission's modest resources.

Abdul Karim, the town's newly appointed representative of the Yemeni archaeological service, came to our aid by introducing us to the skilled builders of Zabid. There are still three master builders who practise traditional building methods. As there are few completely new buildings being started, much of their work has to do with repair and major restoration projects of the old houses of the town's wealthy merchant class.

One of the reasons for the survival of Zabid's building tradition is that, for the last five hundred years, houses have been built using bricks recovered by wreckers from the ruins of a previous era. The use of these recycled materials has led to the development of a particularly distinctive Zabidi house style.

Walls are faced with the larger pieces of reclaimed brick, set in lime mortar, while the core of the wall is composed of smaller brickbats set in mud. Flat roofs are built with native hardwood lumber, which is covered by a series of materials, beginning with brush and followed by salt-hay, brickbats, and lime concrete. The concrete is polished smooth to work out the cracks and to render it waterproof. The massively thick walls of the building are stable only as long as the roof is maintained and the rain is shed from the surface. Seeping water causes moisture to penetrate to the mud core of the walls and results in their collapse. The exterior wall surfaces were initially repaired with plaster; but gradually the plastering of articulated brick surfaces became a distinctive art form.

The master builders carry out large projects with a staff of two or more foremen and as many as fifteen labourers, depending upon the amounts of materials to be hauled about. The pace of work is dictated by the master builder, who makes decisions about when it is feasible to rebuild badly deteriorated sections of a

By agreeing to restore the citadel, the ROM team could learn more about its history

Top: New supporting beams are put in place where the original roof had collapsed. *Middle:* The last concrete is poured and spread for the new roof. *Bottom:* The details of the arch are slightly modified from the original because the workmen have remodelled it with stucco.

The beginning date of the citadel remains an important but still unanswered question

Top: The unique Zabid style of house construction depends upon the use of recycled bricks. The original small, tablet-shaped bricks are easily used to break up an exterior façade into a number of angular details. *Bottom:* In time, as repairs are needed, the façades are white-washed, which causes the angular details to become more rounded. A more baroque treatment of the façade with stucco rather than white wash may be used. The resulting appearance of the façade retains only a faint resemblance to the original.

structure and what supplies to order.

It wasn't necessary for us to teach old skills to these people as is commonly done in other restoration projects. On the contrary, it was we who had to keep up with the builder to learn the various stages involved in the reconstruction process. As the director, my major practical contribution was to be on hand with a bank-roll when a fresh truck-load of lime arrived, or to "supervise" the selection of lumber at one of the weekly rural markets.

What was essential archaeologically was observing and recording structural details that were only exposed at the time of the restoration work, for the secrets of a building's history are often hidden behind old repairs. The unexpected bonus for all the effort and expense has been that, with respect to the history of Zabid, the citadel is a valuable historical remnant above the ground that deserves as much attention as those buried beneath it.

When the restoration work began in 1987, the initial focus was upon three vaulted rooms because they were still for the most part structurally sound although their walls were badly cracked. In fact these rooms had served as the arsenal, and there was still dry and therefore usable gunpowder for turn-of-the-century cannons stored here in the original cloth bags. Fuses for the shells had been wrapped in a 1934 London newspaper that included a report of the sinking of the *Henry Cort* (a ferry) in Lake Michigan and a letter to the editor complaining about the excessive "hooting" of automobiles in the Strand. Besides being entertaining the paper provided evidence of how the citadel was used during its last decades. We also found an old Ford truck which, as we learned from its serial number, was made in Canada in 1926. No one could be found who remembered how this vehicle had been used.

As for the beginning date of the citadel, that is an important but still unanswered question. Today the citadel incorporates in its northeastern corner the exterior wall of the al-Iskandariyah mosque. A dedication inscribed on a wall of a minaret was damaged when a gun-slot was carved into it. What remains of the inscription identifies Iskandar Mauz, who ruled in Zabid between 1526 and 1534, as the sponsor of the minaret.

But who would commit the sacrilegious

act of defacing a mosque? Or who would be so cavalier as to use a mosque for a last defence? One can at least conclude that the defences were erected during the era of fire-arms. (Arquebuses, the first guns in Yemen, were used by Mamluk Egyptians during an invasion in 1516.) But was the citadel erected by enemies of Iskandar who reviled his name, such as the Ottoman Turks who ruled Zabid from 1539 to 1635, or later by others who could not afford the luxury of building planned defences from scratch?

From what has been revealed during the restoration work, it is clear that the citadel has undergone a considerable number of modifications since its beginning. The second-storey room above the old, blocked-up east "victory" gateway (Bab al-Nasr), which we now use as a living room, had been remodelled at least twice. Access to the turreted roof was from a completely different direction. The bent-axis gateway may also have been modified. The presence of two gun-slots suggests that what is now an interior wall may once have been outside. Inside the adjacent barrack-room, part of a round tower was hidden behind a bastion projecting into the room. The new structure had a window to the outside that was later blocked up when the shaft from an enclosed drain of a roof-top toilet was installed running down the outside wall of the citadel past the window. The plumbing may date only from the 1960s.

From excavations conducted last winter, we still do not know what the citadel looked like at the time of the Turkish occupation of Zabid in the 16th and 17th centuries. But we did learn about the kinds of artifacts that the Turks used. They include delicate coffee cups made in Yemen and small tobacco pipes that would appear to predate the introduction of tobacco to Turkey in 1601. Excavated remains of the Turkish phase also include a cannon-ball workshop. It is hoped that further excavations will arrive at a more precise dating for this level, and there is a chance that new information will come to light about the role of relaxation amongst the Turkish garrison. It is hoped, too, that further work next season will make it possible to link up the cannon-ball layer to the citadel wall itself, where the continued restoration program makes detailed investigative inquiry feasible.

From the restoration work it is apparent that the citadel has been modified many times

Workmen dust off the cannon balls that they found in the ruins of a cannon-ball workshop dating from the Turkish occupation of Zabid.

Art or Craft? Printmaking and Silversmithing in 18th-Century Augsburg

Fine art or craft, the distinction is not always clear

Howard Collinson

PHOTOGRAPHY, COURTESY EUROPEAN DEPT., ROM

This print and the one opposite, which were used as decorative models, are from the series *Diversi Pensieri*. Collection of the Royal Ontario Museum.

The potter, the silversmith, the glass blower, and the cabinetmaker, craftsmen all, may be lauded for the brilliance of their workmanship, but because they are not necessarily involved in both the design and execution of the objects that result from their efforts, their opportunities for self-expression through the objects may be limited. Such objects, which are the products of more than one master's creativity, and have been created to serve an obvious and mundane purpose, have been traditionally classified as decorative rather than fine art by art historians. Fine art is perceived as free of mundane purpose, and in the eyes of scholars and connoisseurs is most important as the expression of "inspired" artists through the subject matter and style.

Whereas decorative arts, or crafts, have long been studied only for their antiquarian interest (when the objects were made, by whom, and how), the fine arts of painting and sculpture have been studied to gain an understanding of the profound nature of the art object as the reflection of broad cultural issues or the artist's personal concerns.

But over the last twenty years there has been a fundamental change in attitude by art historians. As they have become more interested in the history of the social and cultural functions and of the production of fine art, it has become clear that the division between the fine and decorative arts is an artificial one. Fine art does in fact serve a purpose, and throughout history it is often just as much the response to market needs as decorative art.

The ROM's European Department recently acquired a set of four prints made in Augsburg, Germany, about 1760. Augsburg was renowned throughout Europe in the 18th century for high-quality printmaking and silversmithing, both of which, at the time, were considered craft industries that manufactured goods for competition in the marketplace. In the intervening centuries, silversmithing has come to be considered a craft whereas printmaking has been elevated to a fine art. The difficulty of trying to

Dr. Howard Collinson is assistant curator in the European Department, ROM

distinguish fine from decorative arts when confronted with some of the magnificent work from Augsburg shows why the attempt is a futile exercise.

There was a special reason for the prominence of Augsburg as a commercial centre. In the late Middle Ages, the city inherited a special legal status, that of a Free Imperial City, which it kept until 1804, when it was absorbed into the Kingdom of Bavaria. This meant that the city was an independent state, ruled only by its city council, which reported directly to the Holy Roman Emperor. This council was comprised of patrician merchants, who were more concerned with encouraging the growth of banking, trade, and manufacture than with the grand scheme of European politics.

Fine craftsmanship had long been central to the city's economic life. During the 15th and 16th centuries, Augsburg had served as a point through which Italian culture was diffused into northern Europe. By the mid-18th century, when the French Rococo style was so popular, Augsburg craftsmen quickly reworked the newest French designs into a southern German version, and used them for the creation of luxury design goods for buyers throughout northern and eastern Europe, as far away as Scandinavia and St. Petersburg, Russia.

The ROM's prints, which have two designs on each page, bear the Italian title, *Diversi Pensieri* (Diverse Thoughts). They were designed by Gottfried Eichler, engraved by Jeremias Wachsmuth, and published by Johann Georg Hertel. A second group of four prints originally completed a set with a total of sixteen designs. Despite the Italian title, perhaps used as an exotic touch, the three men were all Augsburgers and participators in the long tradition of print publishing in the southern German city.

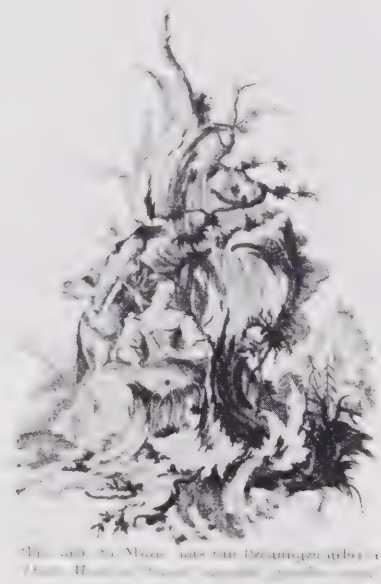
As the rather casual title implies, the sixteen designs of the set, although either pastoral or amorous, do not have a single theme or story. They are accompanied by verses in Latin and German, which are roughly related to the subjects. The designs, each integrating several figures into a Rococo landscape setting, were clearly meant to act as models for craftsmen to use in any number of media, from the decoration of ceramics to southern German house façades.

Printers had been active in Augsburg since the 15th century and by the mid-18th century an efficient system of production had developed, which supplied central Europe not only with "fine art" prints of landscape or hunting scenes, but with images for many purposes. Elaborately decorated calendars and academic theses, city views, portraits, and landscapes, as well as printed model sheets for craftsmen, were all Augsburg specialties, which spread the influence of Augsburg style throughout all the decorative arts.

Few artists in Augsburg made prints in the manner of such famous printmakers as Albrecht Dürer or Rembrandt. As is clear from the list of three men who produced the *Diversi Pensieri*, printmaking in Augsburg was an organized industry, dominated not by the artists but by the publishers of images. Augsburg prints were usually marketed by the publishers in sets of four or six related sheets.

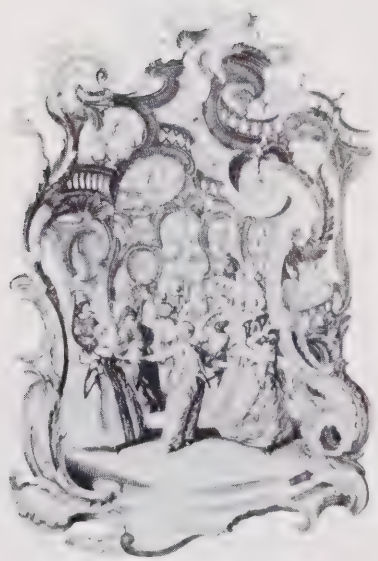
The creation of the *Diversi Pensieri* was probably typical of Augsburg print production and took place somewhat as follows. Hertel, the publisher, commissioned or purchased eight decorative designs of similar format from Gottfried Eichler, an

In the 18th century, Augsburg, Germany, was renowned throughout Europe for its print and silver industries. The town was governed by a council of patrician merchants, who were more concerned with encouraging the growth of banking, trade, and manufacture than with the grand scheme of European politics



The print ornaments that decorate the pages of this article are from an 18th-century model sheet created by Jeremias Wachsmuth.

The words "Augsburg silver" were synonymous with outstanding quality. In 1763 the Prince Bishop of Hildesheim ordered a silver table service from two Augsburg silver dealers. It consists of 331 pieces, including three magnificent centrepieces, and is now divided between museum collections in Munich and Hildesheim



This image from Wachsmuth's print series, *Gallant Pilgrim*, shows that they were not only useful models but also beautiful prints.

Augsburg artist from a family of painters or fine craftsmen. The choice of both the subject and style of the designs was probably made by the publisher. He could have requested anything from copies of the latest Parisian chair designs to allegories of the four seasons, depending upon what images he felt had the greatest market potential.

After receiving the drawings from Eichler, Hertel gave them to Wachsmuth, a professional designer who also made engravings of other artists' designs. Using great skill, he engraved the designs on the copper printing plate. Wachsmuth was paid either a lump sum or an hourly wage. The completed printing plate became the property of the publisher, who then paid for the printing of the designs, which he sold in his own shop in Augsburg or marketed across Europe.

The *Diversi Pensieri* were quite clearly commercial products. Hertel's name is prominently featured on all the sheets, so that if someone liked a print, he would know from whom he could buy a copy. As was standard for Augsburg publishers, Hertel even listed his stock number (154) for the set on each page.

This system of printmaking had been common since the 16th century, but it seldom reached the scale that it did in Augsburg. Along with textiles and silver, prints were one of the city's prime exports and their sales made a significant contribution to the local economy. In 1730, there were twenty-three print publishers and sixty-one professional engravers in Augsburg. There were, in fact, more engravers than bakers.

Likewise, the number of silversmiths in 18th-century Augsburg is astounding. This industry also reached a high point at this time, and the words "Augsburg silver" were synonymous with outstanding quality. The silver business was second in scale only to Augsburg's textile industry. In 1720, of 2548 men recorded as earning a living as craftsmen or small merchants, 1250 were weavers and 230 were silversmiths. Not only did the export of silverware make a crucial contribution to the municipal economy, but secondary industries such as the manufacture of boxes for shipping and storage was also a significant source of income.

The success of the Augsburg silver industry depended upon the network of silver dealers, who functioned much like the print publishers in that they carried out projects and provided the necessary capital. A silver dealer would obtain a commission for silverware. In turn, he would commission a designer to create pattern drawings for the work. After this, the dealer would hire a silversmith to produce the final work. If the commission was for a large set, the individual pieces would be farmed out to a number of workshops or made up partly out of existing stock. Augsburg silver dealers were noted for the speed with which they could deliver even a large commission.

The Hildesheim table service is perhaps the best known set of Augsburg silver. Now divided primarily between the Bavarian National Museum in Munich and the Roemer and Pilzaeus Museum in Hildesheim, it consists of 331 pieces, including three magnificent centrepieces. This amazing service was purchased by the Prince Bishop of Hildesheim from the Augsburg silver dealers Wilhelm Michael Rauner and the firm of Klaucke and Benz. The set was ordered in late May or June 1763 and delivered by September.

Silver manufacture, from the raw material to the final production, was very expensive. Most of the silver dealers not only car-

PHOTOGRAPHY COURTESY BAVARIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM

ried out commissions; they also bought and sold silver bullion and kept some finished silver pieces in stock. As a result they invested a fortune in inventory and raw material. Most silversmiths could never afford such investments and so they were restricted to working primarily on commission and with silver provided by the dealers. This also meant that the silversmiths, like the engravers of prints, were paid for piecework. They were the executors of the needs of dealers—craftsmen making products to order.

Printmaking has always been a difficult area of fine art, for it frequently crosses the line between art and craft. Prints are often created by individual artists seeking a means of expression rather than an effective way to make money. But prints are the reproductions of original images by mechanical means and their quali-

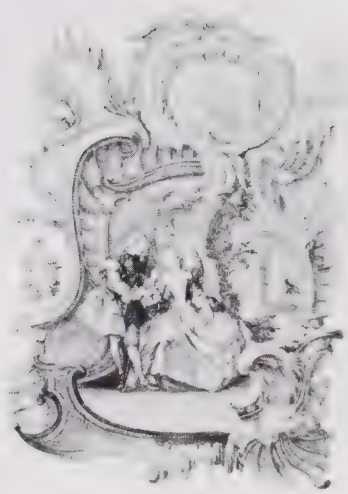
This centrepiece is one of three from the fabulous Hildesheim silver table service.
Collection of the Bavarian National Museum.

ty and quantity can vary greatly. Printmaking is a particularly clear example of an art that includes everyone from the designer to the craftsman (who, perhaps using the designs of others, creates beautiful objects for daily use) to the lone artistic genius who gives expression to the highest aspirations of civilization.

Even though most of the decorative prints from Augsburg were very clearly signed by the artists and publishers, they were rarely dated (an omission perhaps intended to extend their "shelf life"), and they prove quite difficult to date from style alone. Jeremias Wachsmuth, the engraver of the ROM's prints, was born in Augsburg about 1711 and died there in 1771. Much of Wachsmuth's work seems to be from the 1750s and early 1760s. His prints span the entire range of decorative work. A set of designs for portraits had obvious use for carvers and plasterers. One set, typical of its genre, is simply an agglomeration of various disembodied Rococo motifs that would be suitable for almost any type of decorative work.

Other model sheets by Wachsmuth had a more interesting relationship to the design of objects. Some, such as a group of fan designs, were literally intended to become objects. These engravings were not simply models for painted fans, but were meant to be cut out and pasted onto boards for use as fans. Wachsmuth's four images of *The Gallant Pilgrim* and a famous set of *The Four Seasons* were useful as models for other media, but their extreme beauty suggests that they were meant as decorative objects themselves. No matter for what use these prints were intended, they were and are a delight to the eye.

Rococo objects, be they more purely decorative such as painting and sculpture or more practical in their function such as furniture, have common design characteristics. Wachsmuth's image of *Winter*, from *The Four Seasons*, has a striking resemblance to work in silver from this time, such as the large centrepiece of the Hildesheim table service. This does not mean that *Winter* was intended as a model for silverware but rather that silverware and prints of the time share the same vocabulary of decorative forms.



Wachsmuth's *Four Seasons* prints resemble silverware of the time because they share the same vocabulary of decorative forms.

From the height of the Middle Ages until the Industrial Revolution painters and sculptors regarded themselves as craftsmen who made products that were not fundamentally different from other refined crafts, such as metalwork or fine weaving. Although the intellectual content and design of their art became increasingly important to the artists, they never discounted the value of high-quality workmanship. It was the persistence of the craftsman's approach to art that led Rembrandt's contemporaries to criticize the late paintings for lacking technical finish.

No matter how important the intellectual content of an art work was to the artist or even to his patron, technical virtuosity continued as the most marketable feature of the work. The 17th-century Flemish artist, Peter Paul Rubens, charged for his work according to the size of the paintings and the amount of work that he (rather than his assistants) put into the actual execution. Of course, the design of the painting was Rubens's and its production was supervised and approved by Rubens no matter who painted it, however, the work of the master craftsman himself was worth more. Albrecht Dürer once explained to a patron that his altarpiece would be somewhat more expensive than anticipated because he himself, rather than his assistants, had personally painted the entire work.

Nowadays, quite the opposite can be true. We often judge the

quality of an art work as much if not more by the intellectual content. The artist's manual dexterity is often considered less important than his conceptual dexterity. This is different from our attitude towards fine craft, however, wherein the value lies not only with the design, but also with the brilliance of the execution.

In the 18th century a major change began. Artists formed academies that were not craftsmen's guilds, but rather intellectual associations of artist-philosophers. Many artists began to downplay the importance of manual skill as an inherent part of artistic production and by the 20th-century artists such as Marcel Duchamp and those that have called themselves conceptualists developed forms of visual art that required no formal technical skills.

The tendency to distinguish art from craft, at least partly by reference to whether the product serves any practical purpose, persists. If an object can be eaten from, worn, or sat upon, it is craft (or at best "design"). If an object serves no obvious mundane function, it may be defined as art. The Hildesheim silver is classified as tableware. Therefore it is considered craft rather than sculpture, even though its sculptural qualities are of the highest artistic standard.

This principle is even enshrined in customs laws throughout the western world. Functional objects are subject to duty, while works of art are above the realm of Mammon. I had a practical lesson in the philosophy of art according to Canada Customs at Pearson Airport, as I tried unsuccessfully to convince a customs officer that the piece of 1930s glass that I was bringing back from Europe was a sculpture, just coincidentally shaped like a teapot. A teapot, if less than one hundred years old, is considered functional and is therefore subject to duty, regardless of its historic importance. A piece of sculpture, defined as being without apparent function, is duty-free. Marcel Duchamp's dictum that art is anything an artist (in this case, a curator) claims is art doesn't pull much weight with Canada Customs.

Art historians no longer classify objects by purpose, lofty or otherwise. Even though it is hard to conceive of artists such as Michelangelo, Raphael, or Leonardo as craftsmen responding to the demands of the marketplace, study of this aspect of art has shed considerable light upon our understanding of the nature of the history of western art. Art historians now talk about the *function* of art objects. A painting in a church serves a religious function; the decoration of Versailles served a political function for Louis XIV.

Even the most abstract contemporary paintings and sculpture serve many functions. Many individuals feel that such art, when installed in their homes or offices, gives a clear indication of their sophisticated knowledge of art and taste. Corporate collections give today's corporations the aura of modern Medicis. And the great publicity now given to art auctions is, to a large extent, a reaction to contemporary speculation on art from all eras as a commodity. Art and craft: from the most uninspired and poorly produced to the most magnificent, both are created to fulfil specific functions or purposes, both are created as a response to market demands as they have changed over the centuries. Is there a significant difference between art and craft or any reason to search for one? For the citizens of 18th-century Augsburg, the answer would probably be No, and today we would still agree.

The distinction between fine art and craft is at best tenuous. This is very obvious when considering some of the magnificent fine art prints and sculptural silver crafts produced in 18th-century Augsburg. Art historians no longer classify objects by purpose in order to assign the labels of fine art or craft. The citizens of Augsburg never did.

Saving the People, Saving the Land

Considering people and natural resources in rainforest management is creating more sympathy for the environment

Stephen V. Nash and Ian Craven

Economists and the Third World's rural poor do have one thing in common: they are involved in the processes that determine how natural resources will be used. When their concerns are about the future of much of the world's rainforests and tropical renewable resources, the economists may formulate or give advice on government or business policies. However, it is the poor who will have the final say. Rules and regulations imposed from above have little relevance to people at the subsistence level who collectively control the use of most land in developing countries. Simple survival compels the poor to follow destructive environmental practices but, even more tragic, these practices worsen their poverty.

Traditional programs to preserve envi-

Stephen V. Nash is currently the manager of the World Wide Fund for Nature's Irian Jaya Conservation Project, based in Jayapura, the provincial capital. Ian Craven coordinates World Wide Fund for Nature's efforts in the Arfak Mountains Conservation Area and resides in Manokwari.

A moss forest is located 2600 metres above sea level in the Arfak Mountains Conservation Area. Due to the wet and cold climate at this altitude, moss covers virtually everything. The Hatam people live in the region and the park is zoned according to how it can be used by the people. The moss forest is zoned for hunting.

ALL PHOTOGRAPHY BY IAN CRAVEN

The round-eared tube-nosed bat is a fruit eater. Bats play a vital role in pollination and seed dispersal in the rainforests of Indonesia.

The Hatam people living in the Arfak Mountains Conservation Area of Indonesia have agreed to respect and maintain the land within the area boundaries while retaining the right to hunt and to use the forest in traditional ways. Their word for conservation translates as "the place we guard."

ronments have called for the displacement of the human population or severe restrictions on its activities. As recent accounts in the media have shown repeatedly, this has often led to resentment and attempts to sabotage the programs by the people affected. To the populations of developing countries it has sometimes seemed that the preservation of some region is simply a means by which idealists far removed from the harsh realities of the Third World prevent the poor from realizing the economic potential of what they believe to be their country's abundance of natural resources.

Environmentalists are now recognizing that conservation rather than preservation may be the key to saving the world's endangered regions. An environmental management plan that considers how the human population can work with the environment to support itself encourages people to replace destructive attitudes and practices with a more conservationist approach. People can be persuaded to support such a plan if conservation is first made profitable at the household level. When the basic needs of individuals are met, then the task of fulfilling the economic needs of a nation can be tackled.

The World Conservation Strategy, developed by the International Union of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), is gaining acceptance in the Third World and developed countries because it presents a more rational view of natural resources and human needs. It recognizes the importance of keeping conservation and development working together, instead of against each other.

The three main objectives of the World Conservation Strategy are: to maintain essential ecological processes and life-support systems, to preserve genetic diversity, and to ensure that the various resources in an environment that are useful to people are sustained at a satisfactory level rather than depleted. The task is urgent because the planet's capacity to support people is being irreversibly reduced in both developing and developed countries.

Governments of several Third World countries are beginning to understand

that waste and mismanagement of resources are economically unsound, and that in the long term the rational use of resources is cost-effective. For example, short-term economic gains have come from clear-cutting mangrove forests for paper-making, and from limited fishing and shrimp gathering in the man-made ponds that are created in the denuded land. These gains are offset in the long term, however, by the true costs and implications of mangrove deforestation. Mangrove forests are vital as nurseries for valuable fishes and shrimps (producing far greater yields per hectare than from man-made ponds), as barriers to land erosion, as filters of estuarine pollutants, and as sources of foods, pharmaceuticals, and chemicals required by humans. The loss of mangrove forests makes it necessary to subsidize a less productive fishing system, to build erosion barriers, to switch to higher-cost alternatives to natural mangrove products, and to deal with polluted waters.

The World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) in Indonesia oversees the Irian Jaya Conservation Project, which, in collaboration with the government's Directorate General of Forest Protection and Nature Conservation (PHPA), has been pursuing a conservation and development strategy for Indonesia's easternmost province, since the early 1980s.

Irian Jaya province comprises the western half of the island of New Guinea, a nearly untouched land mass of more than 400,000 square kilometres. Of this area 80,000 square kilometres have been set aside in 53 proposed conservation areas that include all types of environments from ice-covered mountain peaks to mangrove forests and coral reefs. Most of the conservation areas are populated by traditional hunter-gatherers, farmers, or fishermen, and WWF has made their social and economic development one of the aims of its management strategies. The central theme of Irian Jaya protected-area management is community participation. This means that people residing in and around areas designated essential for conservation are included in the decision-making process of boundary identification and management planning, and in the implementation of these plans and boundaries. By traditional land rights, the land is theirs, and real incentives must be developed in order to justify the existence of protected areas to the local people. In order to promote effectively the long-term benefits of conservation, project workers must demonstrate short-term economic benefits by encouraging old and new ways of using natural resources that are environmentally sound.

The rich fauna and flora of the Arfak Mountains dazzled early naturalists such as Lesson, Wallace, D'Albertis, and Beccari, and this wealth of resources still exists within the boundaries of the Arfak Mountains Conservation Area, which encompasses much of the Hatam people's tribal lands. This 65,300-hectare protected area is unique in Irian Jaya because twelve Hatam village committees now manage and protect the reserve boundary under the guidance and assistance of the PHPA and WWF.

Each village or group of villages has a committee to represent the owners of the land within the committee's respective management area. The committees act as a body in which tribal problems over land rights can be aired and solved, and regulations regarding hunting, logging, and the use of fires within the conservation area are discussed and approved.

Communities must participate in marking the boundaries of protected areas of land. Here the villagers of Mboiti show their support of the conservation program before marking the Arfak park boundary near their village.

The Hatam word for the conservation area translates as "the place we guard." The several thousand residents scattered around the edges of the reserve and in adjacent river valleys have agreed, through their representative committees, to respect and maintain the land within the boundaries as a conservation area while retaining the right to hunt and to use the forest in their traditional ways.

Outside the boundary, in a populated buffer area called the western develop-

The Priam's and other species of birdwing butterflies may play an important role in the rural development of Irian Jaya.

Butterfly ranching has been introduced to the Hatam people as a way for them to earn cash. This means that they will no longer have to earn a living by exploiting poor land to raise vegetables solely for distant markets. It also means that they can raise some crops for local consumption.

ment zone, enthusiasm is high for the beginning of an economically sound venture based on a sustainable resource: butterfly ranching. The commercial exploitation of live and preserved butterflies for supplying butterfly zoos, collectors, and scientists, and for use as decoration, is well established in neighbouring Papua, New Guinea, but not in Irian Jaya, in spite of the latter's great share of valued species. Butterflies are, however, only a sustainable resource as long as the forests are protected. Losing the forest means losing valuable butterflies. By exploiting both the resource and the link with conservation, development and conservation objectives are furthered together.

Butterfly ranches are open-air gardens filled with the insects' favourite food plants as well as plants suitable for egg-laying. The wild butterflies lay eggs among the plants, and then the eggs, caterpillars, and pupae are collected daily for shipment to butterfly zoos, or kept until the adult stage.

The WWF plans to introduce butterfly ranching to the western development zone by setting up committee-run demonstration ranches near the boundary in order to attract butterflies from within the protected area. Yields from the ranches can be sold to licensed butterfly exporters in the nearby coastal town of Manokwari, an arduous day's walk from the mountains, or a short flight away via regular missionary aircraft servicing the development-zone villages of Mokwam and Minyambou.

The Hatam people already earn cash to improve their standard of living through the shifting cultivation of cool-climate vegetables for sale in the Manokwari market. This shifting agriculture damages forests at a rate that outpaces normal regeneration. With the rapid growth of the Hatam population, the need for items that must be purchased increases. The need for hard currency is so great that the vegetables are reserved for sale and are not consumed locally, a situation that aggravates the problem of malnutrition among these mountain people. Because the soil is so poor, keeping up with the growing demands for vegetables to sell means

that more and more forest is destroyed.

How do butterflies integrate conservation with real development? It is hoped that community butterfly ranching will displace shifting agriculture as the main source of income in the boundary area, and better yet, that the Hatam people will feel free to consume their own produce. Butterfly ranching is far easier than clearing forest and tending food crops. This alone should occasion a cutback in agricultural development on the mountain slopes to what is necessary to fulfil only the basic needs of the Hatam. Furthermore, as the forests are the natural habitat of the butterflies, it is likely that the Hatam will protect the forests with the same intensity with which they used to destroy them. This will ultimately benefit all wildlife.

These plans for the Arfak Mountains Conservation Area are but one example of the economic, social, and environmental benefits that are possible with some innovative thinking. What the conservation movement needs today to overcome the mounting crises and conflicts in the forests and seas of the developing world is a wider understanding of social development and economics. This will strengthen rather than compromise environmental management. The World Conservation Strategy states that "conservation is entirely compatible with the growing demand for 'people-centered' development that achieves a wider distribution of benefits to whole populations (better nutrition, health, education, family welfare, fuller employment, greater income security, protection from environmental degradation); that makes fuller use of people's labour, capabilities, motivations and creativity; and is more sensitive to cultural heritage." Sound "people-centered" development combined with the creation and conservation of a healthy environment is essential for achieving rational environmental management. Money, it must be realized, is a powerful incentive, and when it is gained wisely even the world's poor can become ardent conservationists as well as more prosperous.

Top: *The long-nosed echidna is an egg-laying mammal found in the Arfak mountains. Local legend claim that birds of paradise lay two eggs and that one hatches as an echidna.* Middle: *The Brehm's tiger parrot is a high-altitude bird. This male was photographed at 2600 metres above sea level in a moss forest.*

The bower (left) of the Vogelkop bowerbird (right) is made by the male, and to attract a mate, the bird decorates the bower with a variety of colourful objects such as orchid petals, beetle wing covers, red fungi, various fruits, and occasionally man-made objects.

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PARTY PRESS
THE BIRTH OF THE NEWS IN CANADA

Politics was all the news in 19th-century Canada

DOUGLAS FETHERLING

ILLUSTRATION: BARRY BLITT

WHEN A FRIEND DIES IT IS USUally his or her voice that fades from memory first; it takes much longer to forget the person's facial features. But with dead newspapers (and Canada has lost many large metropolitan dailies since the Second World War) the reverse is true. Long after people have forgotten a publication's design characteristics, they continue to recall its voice: the kind of news it presented, the principles it stood for and came out against. In this way the look of even some of the relatively recent casualties (the Toronto *Telegram* and the Montreal *Star*, which closed in 1971 and 1978 respectively, or the Ottawa *Journal* and the Winnipeg *Tribune*, both 1980) are quickly slipping from our grasp. Yet former readers can still describe where those papers fitted into what Robert Fulford has called the cafeteria of opinion. To an older generation, the same is probably true with respect to the Winnipeg *Citizen* (1949), the Edmonton *Bulletin* (1950), the Vancouver *News-Herald* (1955), and the Montreal *Herald* (1957)—big, important papers, all of them.

Although scarcely peculiar to Canada, the simplest notion about the cause of so many newspaper closings might be said to have Canadian roots. Briefly put, the common explanation is that television made newspapers obsolescent by redefining the concept of what news is and by draining away advertising revenue. The idea has gained general acceptance as it has passed from one Canadian scholar to another, from Harold Innis to Marshall McLuhan down to younger figures such as David Godfrey, becoming, in the process, one of Canada's staple intellectual exports.

Such people would be the first to remind us that ideas by their nature are abstract and speculative and not to be confused with scientific fact, but the distinction is often lost on those who come at the theory from some remove. For in truth the question is far more com-

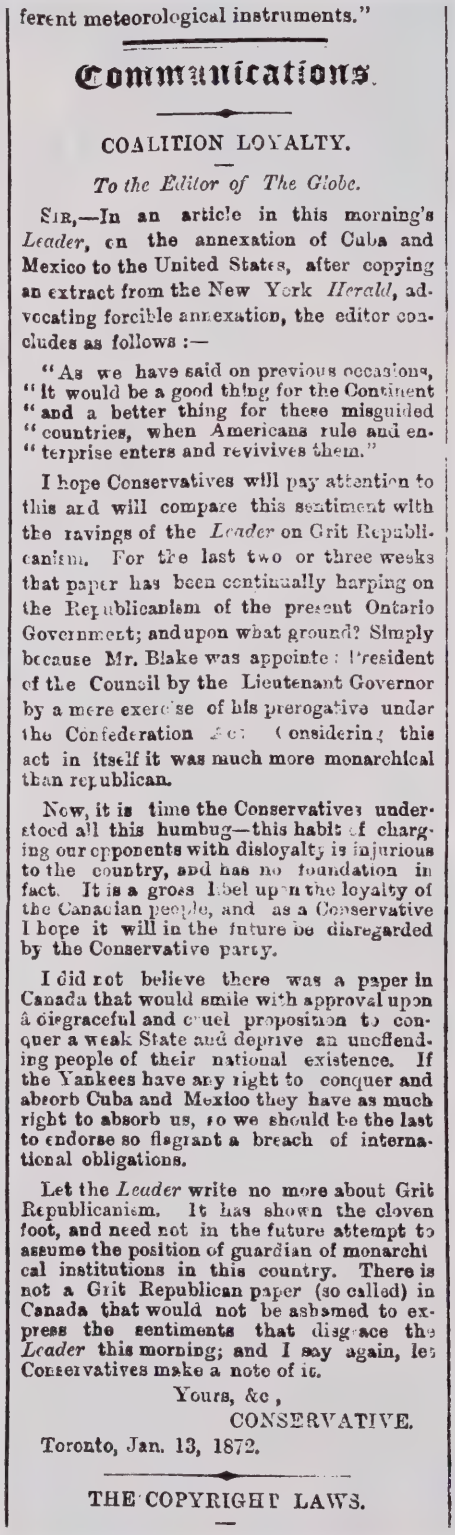
Douglas Fetherling is the literary editor of Canada's oldest daily newspaper, The Whig-Standard, *Kingston, Ontario.*

plicated than it seems. There *were*, to be sure, many more newspapers in the age before the perfection of the electronic media than there have been since. And certainly television has taken its toll, as much by leaving the press confused about its function as by stealing its bread. Entrepreneurs have had much success in starting up new papers in recent years, but significantly, and for reasons I'll discuss shortly, these have all been papers aimed at working-class readers.

As long as the newspaper business has existed it has been in a state of chaotic transition. The first newspaper proprietors didn't distinguish between publishing, editing, and manufacturing. They were printers, masters of their day's printing technology, and they established newspapers in response to the same impulse that led them to set up also as booksellers, stationers, and job printers. As newspapers came to be seen as the best means of disseminating opinion, printers found themselves to be a force in politics. People wanting access to power became newspaper owners in order to achieve their ends, while governments, for their part, tried either to co-opt the newspapers or to foster rival ones congenial to their own ideology. Today, when you see a newspaper with a hyphenated name, such as *The Whig-Standard* in Kingston where I work, it is a reminder not only that a stronger paper once absorbed a weaker but that one party's organ, the Liberal *Whig* in this instance, defeated another's, the Tory *Standard*. The fighting would usually continue nonetheless.

Because newspapers were still a small business, requiring little more in capital than money for a rented room, a broken-down hand-fed press, and a case of 10-point Caslon (the typeface that settled the West), the proliferation was quite extraordinary. Hundreds of papers came and went with ease, as their fortunes and their politics dictated. The Metro Toronto Central Reference Library, for instance, has a list of eighty-two newspapers published in Toronto prior to 1867, all but a few of them weeklies. Of these, only one, George Brown's mighty *Globe*, survives today, and then only as a kind of ancestral institution with its bloodline diluted by acquisitions and mergers.

Canada's newspapers were politically biased to an extent unfathomable today



ferent meteorological instruments."

Communications.

COALITION LOYALTY.

To the Editor of The Globe.

SIR,—In an article in this morning's *Leader*, on the annexation of Cuba and Mexico to the United States, after copying an extract from the New York *Herald*, advocating forcible annexation, the editor concludes as follows :—

"As we have said on previous occasions, "it would be a good thing for the Continent "and a better thing for these misguided "countries, when Americans rule and en- "terprise enters and revivives them."

I hope Conservatives will pay attention to this and will compare this sentiment with the ravings of the *Leader* on Grit Republicanism. For the last two or three weeks that paper has been continually harping on the Republicanism of the present Ontario Government; and upon what ground? Simply because Mr. Blake was appointed President of the Council by the Lieutenant Governor by a mere exercise of his prerogative under the Confederation Act. Considering this act in itself it was much more monarchical than republican.

Now, it is time the Conservatives understood all this humbug—this habit of charging our opponents with disloyalty is injurious to the country, and has no foundation in fact. It is a gross libel upon the loyalty of the Canadian people, and as a Conservative I hope it will in the future be disregarded by the Conservative party.

I did not believe there was a paper in Canada that would smile with approval upon a disgraceful and cruel proposition to conquer a weak State and deprive an unoffending people of their national existence. If the Yankees have any right to conquer and absorb Cuba and Mexico they have as much right to absorb us, so we should be the last to endorse so flagrant a breach of international obligations.

Let the *Leader* write no more about Grit Republicanism. It has shown the cloven foot, and need not in the future attempt to assume the position of guardian of monarchical institutions in this country. There is not a Grit Republican paper (so called) in Canada that would not be ashamed to express the sentiments that disgrace the *Leader* this morning; and I say again, let Conservatives make a note of it.

Yours, &c,

CONSERVATIVE.

Toronto, Jan. 13, 1872.

THE COPYRIGHT LAWS.

The Globe, 15 January 1872

Until well into this century, most daily newspapers were small in bulk and circulation, even in the biggest cities. Because of the fragmentation of the market, a Toronto or a Montreal paper seldom ran to more than a dozen pages per day, though the broadsheets then so fashionable could measure 18 by 24 inches, crammed top to bottom with unrelieved columns of closely leaded agate type. In an era when cities of several hundred thousand people might have five or more daily newspapers, it is doubtful if the total amount of reading matter exceeded what one issue of the Toronto *Star* or the Edmonton *Journal* or the Montreal *Gazette* contains today. The point is not that, everything considered, the market has shrunk so drastically, but that it is divided up very differently indeed. There are fewer (as few as possible) and larger papers, instead of many small ones, with a narrowing of editorial viewpoints as the inevitable result. It is enough to make one nostalgic for what is always called the party press: the system under which Canada's newspapers used to operate as megaphones for opposing political candidates.

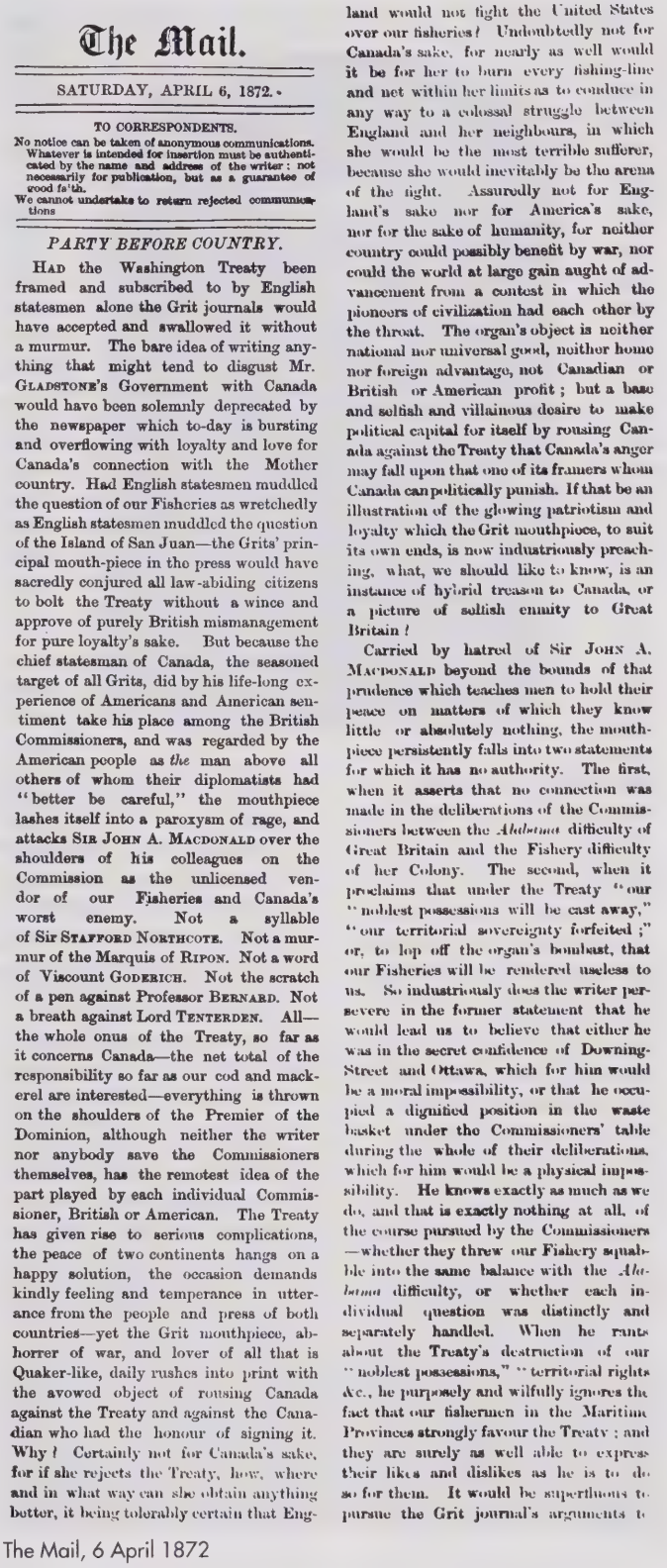
Today's market, in which one reads a particular newspaper because it caters to one's lifestyle or is the only one available, was unthinkable back then. In those days, people subscribed to (in both senses of the term) only that paper which supported, and was supported by, the political party to which they felt allegiance. Newspapers, all newspapers, were biased in political matters to an extent absolutely unfathomable today, and readers grew accustomed to the situation. In fact, mem-

COURTESY THE METRO TORONTO CENTRAL REFERENCE LIBRARY

bers of the public carried their papers as badges, and became quite caught up in the incessant bickering and squabbling between rival publications. Behind every successful politician was a newspaper doing his dirty work; behind every successful paper, an audience sharing its heroes and wishing perdition to its foes. The laws of libel were less stringent, and less often invoked, than they later became. Not only was a spade called a spade, a vile poltroon was called a vile poltroon. The high spirits often spilled off the page.

A surprising percentage of Canada's early political leaders, including numerous premiers and a prime minister or two, were journalists by trade. Such was the intermingling of the press and politics that on election nights crowds would gather in the street outside newspaper offices with ears cocked and eyes peeled for early returns from the hustings. People would, of course, join the throng at a particular party's newspaper, the one down the street being a deceitful rag that nobody in his or her right mind would believe. Newspapers were the *only* source of news for the masses at the time, and many publishers posted daily bulletins in their front windows for the edification of passersby.

Libel laws in the 19th century didn't stop newspapers from doing a politician's dirty work



The Mail.

SATURDAY, APRIL 6, 1872.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

No notice can be taken of anonymous communications. Whatever is intended for insertion must be authenticated by the name and address of the writer: not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of good faith.
We cannot undertake to return rejected communications

PARTY BEFORE COUNTRY.

HAD the Washington Treaty been framed and subscribed to by English statesmen alone the Grit journals would have accepted and swallowed it without a murmur. The bare idea of writing anything that might tend to disgust Mr. GLADSTONE'S Government with Canada would have been solemnly deprecated by the newspaper which to-day is bursting and overflowing with loyalty and love for Canada's connection with the Mother country. Had English statesmen muddled the question of our Fisheries as wretchedly as English statesmen muddled the question of the Island of San Juan—the Grits' principal mouth-piece in the press would have sacredly conjured all law-abiding citizens to bolt the Treaty without a wince and approve of purely British mismanagement for pure loyalty's sake. But because the chief statesman of Canada, the seasoned target of all Grits, did by his life-long experience of Americans and American sentiment take his place among the British Commissioners, and was regarded by the American people as *the* man above all others of whom their diplomatists had "better be careful," the mouthpiece lashes itself into a paroxysm of rage, and attacks SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD over the shoulders of his colleagues on the Commission as the unlicensed vendor of our Fisheries and Canada's worst enemy. Not a syllable of Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE. Not a murmur of the Marquis of RIPON. Not a word of Viscount GODERICH. Not the scratch of a pen against Professor BERNARD. Not a breath against Lord TENTERDEN. All—the whole onus of the Treaty, so far as it concerns Canada—the net total of the responsibility so far as our cod and mackerel are interested—everything is thrown on the shoulders of the Premier of the Dominion, although neither the writer nor anybody save the Commissioners themselves, has the remotest idea of the part played by each individual Commissioner, British or American. The Treaty has given rise to serious complications, the peace of two continents hangs on a happy solution, the occasion demands kindly feeling and temperance in utterance from the people and press of both countries—yet the Grit mouthpiece, abhorrer of war, and lover of all that is Quaker-like, daily rushes into print with the avowed object of rousing Canada against the Treaty and against the Canadian who had the honour of signing it. Why? Certainly not for Canada's sake, for if she rejects the Treaty, how, where and in what way can she obtain anything better, it being tolerably certain that England would not fight the United States over our fisheries? Undoubtedly not for Canada's sake, for nearly as well would it be for her to burn every fishing-line and net within her limits as to conduce in any way to a colossal struggle between England and her neighbours, in which she would be the most terrible sufferer, because she would inevitably be the arena of the fight. Assuredly not for England's sake nor for America's sake, nor for the sake of humanity, for neither country could possibly benefit by war, nor could the world at large gain aught of advancement from a contest in which the pioneers of civilization had each other by the throat. The organ's object is neither national nor universal good, neither home nor foreign advantage, not Canadian or British or American profit; but a base and selfish and villainous desire to make political capital for itself by rousing Canada against the Treaty that Canada's anger may fall upon that one of its framers whom Canada can politically punish. If that be an illustration of the glowing patriotism and loyalty which the Grit mouthpiece, to suit its own ends, is now industriously preaching, what, we should like to know, is an instance of hybrid treason to Canada, or a picture of selfish enmity to Great Britain?

Carried by hatred of Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD beyond the bounds of that prudence which teaches men to hold their peace on matters of which they know little or absolutely nothing, the mouthpiece persistently falls into two statements for which it has no authority. The first, when it asserts that no connection was made in the deliberations of the Commissioners between the *Alabama* difficulty of Great Britain and the Fishery difficulty of her Colony. The second, when it proclaims that under the Treaty "our "noblest possessions will be cast away," "our territorial sovereignty forfeited;" or, to lop off the organ's boulbast, that our Fisheries will be rendered useless to us. So industriously does the writer persevere in the former statement that he would lead us to believe that either he was in the secret confidence of Downing-Street and Ottawa, which for him would be a moral impossibility, or that he occupied a dignified position in the waste basket under the Commissioners' table during the whole of their deliberations, which for him would be a physical impossibility. He knows exactly as much as we do, and that is exactly nothing at all, of the course pursued by the Commissioners—whether they threw our Fishery squabble into the same balance with the *Alabama* difficulty, or whether each individual question was distinctly and separately handled. When he rants about the Treaty's destruction of our "noblest possessions," "territorial rights &c., he purposely and wilfully ignores the fact that our fishermen in the Maritime Provinces strongly favour the Treaty; and they are surely as well able to express their likes and dislikes as he is to do so for them. It would be superfluous to pursue the Grit journal's arguments to

The Mail, 6 April 1872

Election nights illustrate marvellously the climate in which the party press held sway. As late as 1911, patrons who had forgathered outside the Toronto offices of *The Mail and Empire*, an avowedly Conservative organ, grew so excited at the returns that they then proceeded to the respective buildings of the *Daily Star* and *The Globe*, two journals of contrary persuasion, and broke the windows at both places. Neither mobs nor issues of national significance, however, were needed to stir political passion to the point of direct action.

In the 1890s, during Toronto's long controversy about whether streetcars should be operated on the Sabbath and by whom, the moral and economic questions were overshadowed for a time by the doings of the press. *The Telegram* in its columns so ruthlessly attacked a pro-Sunday-streetcar alderman named Farquhar that he set upon the paper's publisher, John Ross Robertson, with a whip. The two of them fell to wrestling in the street while a disinterested third party pelted them with eggs. The tussle ended with Farquhar retreating to the premises of the more sympathetic *News*. But Robertson followed him and lay in wait. When Farquhar at length emerged, Robertson pinned him to the ground and, in a form of torture, "read one of my editorials to him." Horsewhipping editors was a remarkably common practice in the era of the party press; one of the last documented instances occurred in 1914 when an outraged female reader took rawhide to the back of the editor of the Ottawa *Journal*. Such incidents can usually be seen as nothing more than an excess of democratic zeal, anoth-

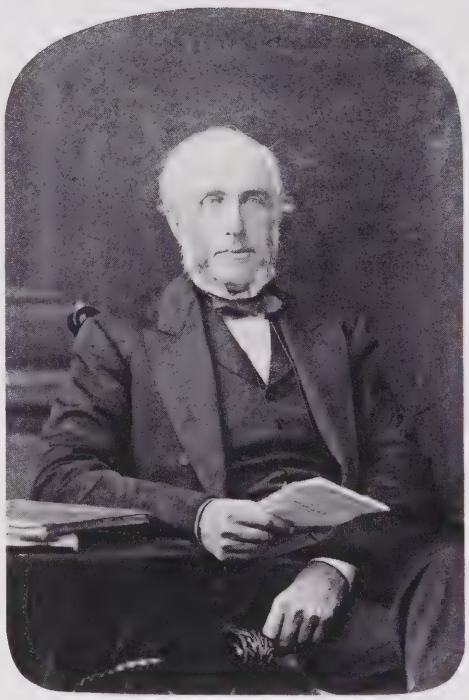
COURTESY THE METRO TORONTO CENTRAL REFERENCE LIBRARY

er little indication of the ability of the party press to fan emotions.

Through it all, two questions remain. Where did this institution of the party press come from, and where did it go?

The idea that newspapers are basically instruments of political persuasion goes back to the very beginnings of Canadian printing and journalism in the late 18th century. The first papers were simply government bulletins, produced by the King's Printer (by tradition, a lucrative patronage position) to give the texts of various proclamations and the like. It was only later, in the age of the great reform movements leading to responsible government, that figures like William Lyon Mackenzie with his *Colonial Advocate*, Joseph Howe with his *Novascotian*, and Francis Collins with his *Canadian Freeman* emerged as social and political critics. They added to publishing what was already enshrined in parliamentary practice, the idea of the loyal (or, in Mackenzie's case, quite disloyal) opposition.

George Brown founded *The Globe* as the instrument of the Reform (Liberal) Party



COURTESY THE ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO

All such publications were of weekly or irregular frequency, and it was only in 1833 that even Montreal was large enough for British North America's first daily, *The Daily Advertiser*. The upper province's first daily was *The British Standard* of Toronto, published in 1836 for a couple of months. By their existence, both showed that the mercantile community was ready to support such journals by digging into its purse and that the people would accept the premise that news was transient enough to warrant being changed every day in an era when such was not the common practice with personal linen.

Once such ideas were endorsed, the news itself seemed to become more topical, breaking off into daily instalments to accommodate the marketplace, in much the way it has become a semi-daily phenomenon (6 and 11 p.m.) in the television age. The feasibility thus established, many dailies began appearing in the 1840s and 1850s and some weeklies, such as Brown's *Globe*, switched to daily frequency. That seems to have intensified the political ramifications of newspaper publishing. Papers were now so numerous that some required political patronage to survive. Patrons were happy to oblige because they, for their part, needed some engine for advancing their own political agendas in an environment in which editorial consensus was less and less possible. The two realities fed each other and created the party press.

A newspaper might be started as a temporary expedient to counter the weight of a rival that had become suddenly cocky, or a new paper might make its appearance as a result of a schism within the party. The reasons why some died away were as quirky as the reasons why others were born. Perhaps the best example of the whole complicated process is the story of the three components of what is now (since 1936) *The Globe and Mail*.

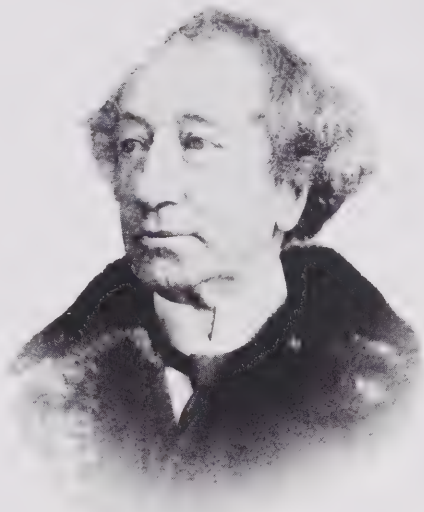
The *Globe* was the instrument of the Reform Party, forerunner of the Liberals, and the party was in turn the paper's plaything, George Brown having founded the organization in order to advance his views. Aligned against it at various times were a number of Tory journals, but by Confederation the *Globe* was easily the leader in terms of circulation, advertising, and most of all influence, much to the annoyance of Brown's political foes, among them John A. Macdonald. By 1872, dissatisfied with the weak performance of a Toronto Tory paper called *The Leader* (whose name still survives in Leader Lane, an alley that connects King Street to Wellington, west of Church), Macdonald canvassed his allies for money, and urged them to canvass still others, in order to found what came to be called *The Mail*.

At the outset the *Mail* boasted that it was to be a general newspaper, not simply a political news-sheet, and that it would maintain an independent disposition. At first this delighted Goldwin Smith, the former Oxford don and the very image of Victorian liberalism who was already, at this early stage of his life in Canada, the most prominent intellectual figure in the Dominion. Although he never ran for office, he was ever the keen observer and critic of Canada's politics and way of life, even though he always claimed to be no more than an objective bystander (*The Bystander* being the name of one of the many periodicals in which he had a hand over the years). He was a fierce moral and social force, a great foe of imperialism, and a champion of Irish Home Rule. Smith was also a denouncer of strictly partisan journalism, in contrast with what he saw as the "polyantagonistic" brand he himself practised. As such he quickly became disappointed with the *Mail* when, the following year, it abandoned its show of independence within the Conservative ranks and began a daily defence of Macdonald's actions in the Pacific Scandal.

There was now a preponderance of Conservative newspapers attempting unsuccessfully to knock the mighty *Globe* from its high perch, and so in 1875 the

Liberal politican Edward Blake decided to begin another paper to represent the other side. He called it *The Liberal*, straightforwardly enough; but like so many Victorian politicians, he revealed his true devotion to journalism in the abstract by scrapping the paper shortly thereafter, in order to accept a post in Sir Alexander Mackenzie's cabinet. At about this time, Smith, who already had private means and had married a wealthy Toronto widow (to whose mansion he had added a wing for his growing library) assisted in launching the *Telegram* in Toronto. Later he would help to back the *Tribune* in Winnipeg. Questioned about his apparently indiscriminate generosity to such ventures, he once remarked that he could have used the money on a yacht, yes, but would not have had nearly so much fun.

Sir John A. Macdonald founded *The Mail* as a strong Tory voice



COURTESY THE ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO

As time wore on and Macdonald's political fortunes waxed and waned, the *Mail* began asserting its independence once again; this gave the edge to Smith, who was evolving his views on political and commercial union with the United States, views which culminated in his infamous 1891 book *Canada and the Canadian Question*. He began writing unsigned editorials for the *Mail* and almost succeeded for a time in making it a totally continentalist paper. For Macdonald that was the last straw. In 1887, he passed the hat among the party faithful again to finance another new Conservative morning paper that might balance out the infidel *Mail* and the renegade *Telegram*, which themselves were supposed to be curbing the *Globe*. The new venture was called *The Empire* and this time there would be no slip-ups. Hector Charlesworth, the future editor of *Saturday Night*, once worked on the *Empire*; he called it "as far as I know, the first Canadian newspaper to be, in the completest sense, party-owned and party-controlled—and it was certainly the last." Reporters and editors took direct orders from Tory politicians, and Sir John leaked the date of the 1891 election to the paper while withholding the information from its rivals.

By that time, the *Mail* had abandoned the annexationist policies of Smith and had returned to a position of fierce if somewhat dotty independence on matters of concern to the caucus. The *Empire*, however, was not so fortunate. It was so much the mouthpiece not simply of Macdonald's party but of Macdonald himself that, when the old chieftain died, it served little purpose for his successors; Sir Mackenzie Bowell killed it off by selling it to the *Mail*, which in 1895 became *The Mail and Empire*. The new hybrid was a Conservative organ to be sure and a slightly worthier competitor of the *Globe*, especially now that Brown too was long dead, shot by one of his former employees.

The consolidation did not leave the field substantially less crowded than before, for a new breed sprang up—editors without *personal* political ambitions—and with them a new kind of paper. When the editor of the *Globe*, John (later Sir John) Willison, left his job in order to pursue "independent" journalism, the effect was electrifying. His new paper, the *News*, wasn't any less fervent a supporter of the Liberals than the *Globe* had been. Nor was Willison, who also sidelined for years as Canadian correspondent of *The Times* of London, prevented one whit from being the intimate adviser of Laurier and Borden. The simple fact that the *News* was not actually *owned* by politicians, or didn't have the promotion of particular ones as its editorial *raison d'être*, was enough to make it seem a revolutionary development. Such attitudes lingered for a surprisingly long time in some quarters. As late as 1970, Senator Grattan O'Leary, for years the editor of the Ottawa *Journal*, could write in his memoirs: "Strong editorial comment is inseparable from party affiliation. Unless it is a party press, it will not be a great press." He was the last person known to have held such views.

In the first phase of the party press, in which daily newspapers were put out by combination editor-publishers serving the party in the hope of patronage, Conservative papers were far more numerous. But in the later phase, when papers began to be run along businesslike lines by capitalists with other fish to fry, Liberal papers dominated in a number of important cities, though not without protracted battles, often ones in which the underlying ideological differences were obscured by the contest for commercial supremacy.

Another factor that helped to end the old party press system was the rise of the newspaper chains, since chains operate in their own political environment, usually without reference to party affiliation, in somewhat the same manner that today's global corporations are not always bound by the conventions of the nation. The Southam group, which grew from the Hamilton *Spectator* to include, at its peak, the Montreal *Gazette*, the Ottawa *Citizen*, the Winnipeg *Tribune*, the Edmonton *Journal*, and the Vancouver *Province* among others, was Conservative in its orientation. But as the chain grew,

STORMONT ELECTION.

MR. BETHUNE RETURNED.

ANOTHER VICTORY FOR THE GOVERNMENT.

Rejoicing of the Reformers.

(By Telegraph from our own Correspondent.)

DICKINSON'S LANDING, Jan. 4.

Mr. Bethune has been elected for this county by a majority of 34 over Mr. Colquohoun, the Patent Combination candidate.

CORNWALL, Jan. 4.

Mr. Bethune's friends and supporters in the county of Stormont are greatly elated at the successful result of the election yesterday. Every possible means were employed by Mr. Colquhoun and his friends to defeat Mr. Bethune. Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, with his retainers, prominent amongst whom was the Cornwall Postmaster, were exceedingly active throughout the campaign—Sandfield driving night and day for a week past and standing at the polls at the Township Hall, Roxborough. The Grand Trunk

The Globe, 5 January 1872

THE GRIT PROGRAMME IN THE PRESENT SESSION.

THE Grit journals make no secret of their programme in the Session which opened yesterday. When besiegers have tactics or strategy worthy the name, they prefer to keep the besieged in ignorance until the hour for striking is at hand. When an Opposition *has* a programme that can be called a programme, they never divulge it until they spring it upon the Government. It will be seen that the Grits intend to run this Session in the same old, hackneyed, threadbare and dog-eared groove that has held their chariot-wheels since Confederation. A friendly pen thus indicates the nature of their programme:—

1. Attacking the independence of Parliament, by appointing members thereof to offices of emolument without requiring them to resign their seats.

2. The Intercolonial Railway: the route chosen, as involving an alleged unnecessary expenditure of a large sum of money.

3. The affairs of Manitoba: notably the Riel business; the land question; and the alleged attempt to make that Province, as far as practicable, French.

The Mail, 12 April 1872

COURTESY THE METRO TORONTO CENTRAL REFERENCE LIBRARY

Strong social factions of any kind ensure the proliferation of the press

the papers became less identified with the party right or wrong.

The opposing papers in the same cities, such as the Montreal *Star*, the Toronto *Star*, the Winnipeg *Free Press*, and the Vancouver *Sun*, were just as devoutly Liberal. In fact, the Vancouver *Sun*, from its founding in 1890 until the 1950s, actually had support of the Liberal Party of Canada embedded in its corporate charter. They, too, or the ones that survived, became less rigid in their party sympathies as they fell into line with chains, first FP Publications, then Thomson Newspapers, which absorbed it. Of the major Canadian papers, only the Toronto *Star* remains outside the chain system. Perhaps not coincidentally, it is the one paper that, on occasion, still gives a nostalgic suggestion of the old days.

Television is certainly the chief reason why there are so many one-newspaper towns and may soon be more. But it is well not to overlook another factor: the decline in party zeal among the population overall and in the tug-of-war atmosphere of name-calling and brimstone that used to attend it.

Most of the dead newspapers mentioned in this article ceased publication during the long period (all but about twenty-five years or so this century) when the Liberals were in power. There being, so it often seemed, no competition in federal politics, there was no need for any in the newspaper business, for according to the old rules you could not have two-newspaper towns in a one-party country and expect the party press to remain stable. Something had to happen.

What happened was that the newspapers in the largest, most lucrative markets switched to a system of class targeting instead. All of the successful start-ups in recent years have involved blue-collar newspapers: the Edmonton *Sun*, the Calgary *Sun*, and the Winnipeg *Sun*. In English Canada, Toronto led the way in this transition, with a high-brow paper (*The Globe and Mail*), a middle-brow one (the *Star*), and a low-brow one (the *Sun*), each serving its particular constituency, each very profitable.

There are very clear signs that such squaring off along socio-economic lines is being copied in the electronic media, too, first in radio and now in television (a change that the spread of cable and pay-TV, and the attendant decline of the networks, has only accelerated). It is a shift that no one could possibly have foreseen in the infant days of Canadian journalism, when newspapers were routinely what some of them are in the process of becoming once again: speciality products for a relatively small elite, not essentials for the great democratic masses.

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PHOTOGRAPHY: ALAN HOLLETT

Members of the Dakleh Oasis Project and Egyptian workmen brush the sand from two wooden books.

Bookmakers, Farmers, and Philosophers

THE BOOKMAKER CAST A DISCRIMINATING eye around his shop and selected a piece of willow. Measuring off a Roman foot, he cut the wood to length. Then he set the block on its side and proceeded to saw the chunk into eight thin slabs, taking pleasure in the ease with which the blade, whose teeth he had just set, bit across the grain. Next he took his drawknife, carefully shaved the pages to a 3-millimetre thickness, and brushed on a coating of gum arabic so that the ink would adhere better. Finally, he carefully drilled a set of four holes and bound the pages with cotton string. Another book was ready for the scribe's reed pen.

Our bookmaker practised his craft 1600 years ago in a Romano-Byzantine outpost located 600 kilometres southwest of Cairo in Egypt's Great Western Desert. Not long after, an inexorable wave of sand swept over his city burying buildings, books and all. Since 1985 members of the Dakhleh Oasis Project, a joint venture of the Royal Ontario Museum and the Toronto-based Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, have been excavating the city, Ismant el-Gharab (Ismant-the-Ruined).

"It's like the Pompeii region," Colin Hope, the project's Romano-Byzantine specialist from the University of Melbourne, told me when I visited Dakhleh in 1987. "In Ismant you are walking on the roof of the culture. You get the feeling that these people just left."

Ismant was a major urban centre and as such boasted the usual assortment of public monuments: mausolea, temples, Roman baths, and a sprawling mansion, which the team has dubbed the "Governor's Palace." Even today, its half-standing red mudbrick walls and time-ravaged barrel vaults and arches, poking through the yellow Saharan sands, can impress. But it is one of the common houses across the street from the palace that has yielded Ismant's most spectacular artifacts. In January 1988, Colin Hope brushed the preserving sands from two intact wooden books scattered with other domestic bric-a-brac in a summer kitchen.

Preliminary analysis in the field identified one of the books as containing a lost work by Aristotle—a finding that was reported with much fanfare in *The Times* of London and elsewhere. On closer examination, papyrologists identified the philosophical text as having

been written by Isocrates, a 4th-century B.C. contemporary of Aristotle. The essays on kingship, concerning Nikokles, the Cypriot King of Salamis, were known—and according to most classicists uninspired. Even so, it gave scholars a headstart of six centuries on scribal error, as the earliest extant version, held in the Vatican Library, dated from the 10th century.

To project leader Anthony Mills, a former curator in the ROM Egyptian Department, the second wooden book had been "the real news" all along. It contained four straight years of farm accounts between local landlords, including one Faustianos, and their tenant farmers. The accounts were especially germane to the overall goal of the Dakhleh Project, which is studying man's adaptations to the increasingly arid Saharan climate in the oasis.

But there was more. Near the rare wooden books was an archive of 350 papyrus fragments, several wooden tablets, and various ostraca (potsherds with writing on them), which apparently came crashing into an adjoining room when the roof collapsed. Detailed analysis of this literary storehouse has yielded information about Dakhleh and Ismant that no amount of digging could have unearthed.

Most of the texts are in Greek, the business language of the time. But several of the papyrus fragments contain Coptic writing, normally reserved for liturgical purposes of the Egyptian Church. Among the latter is a passage from the Acts of St. John, which dates from the first half, and possibly the first quarter, of the 4th century; it is one of the earliest known liturgies.

The three churches that have been identified in Ismant, Mills points out, "are pretty hoary in age for Christianity anywhere." The farm account begins with an invocation praising God, and mentions a bishop, monks, a priest, and a deacon—further indications of a well-established Christian commu-

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A wooden sculpture of a king, attributed to Andrea Fantoni of Bergamo, ca. 1700-1720

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nity. Curiously, the account contains only one Christian name, Johannes (John).

"We're right on the threshold of the change from paganism to Christianity in the oasis with these documents," says Mills. "Ultimately, we're going to be able to assess just how much alteration one can pick up in the archaeological material...how much of this very important political or religious movement actually turns up in the domestic way of life of people."

The farm accounts and other documents in the archive are beginning to sketch a picture of the community as a whole. Ismant had a stratified society, with tenant farmers, landlords, and various tradespeople manufacturing a variety of goods including beds and shoes. One of the wooden tablets records a real-estate transaction between two men who lived at Ismant, involving a house in the Nile Valley at Sohag. Obviously, Ismant was not an enclave of peasant farmers but had its citizens of substance.

The same document reveals that the ancient name of Ismant was Kellis, and that the capital of the oasis was at Mouthis, which was the early name of the present-day capital of Mut. The transaction also establishes that Dakhleh (whose ancient name remains a mystery) was its own administrative province; consequently, it was not under the governorship of the Kharga Oasis as it is today.

However, the farm accounts leave no question that Dakhleh was firmly under the Roman Imperial thumb. Faustianos was also a tax collector and much of his account is in fact a record of tax payments and expenses. Taxes were collected in fifteen-year cycles, of which the account constitutes a record of years five through eight of a cycle some time in the early 4th century A.D. Various commodities, as well as cash in talents, were used as payment. The lion's share of the taxes went to feed, clothe, and house soldiers. Although archaeologists have yet to identify a defensive military establishment in Dakhleh, there appear to have been at least forty soldiers stationed at Ismant.

As for the central man-and-environment question, the tax accounts give a sampling of what was being grown in Ismant, now utterly barren and devoid of water. Wheat formed the main commodity. Barley, straw, fodder, wine, sesame, olives, and cotton are also listed, as is pork, information which correlates well with the most common organic remains at Ismant, pig bones. The account also lists bread made from flour of a primitive wheat variety called eincorn. The presence of this crop, which could tolerate an extreme climate, may provide insights into the ecology of the oasis, two millennia ago.

The books themselves have inherent interest. Originally, each consisted of eight leaves (or sixteen pages), still the basic unit of book

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making. The Isocrates text had a ninth leaf inserted, apparently when the scribe needed more room for the text. The vertical shape of the books was no accident. They are approximately 30 centimetres high, the standard length of the Roman foot. Their width, 12 centimetres, may also be significant because it is the traditional width of a single column. "We're looking at the modern book in formation," says John Sharpe, curator of Rare Books at Duke University, who travelled to Egypt this past winter to examine the books.

Sharpe also analyzed the debris with which the books were found and was able to see that, in fact, some of the pieces were offcuts from the book-manufacturing process. "One of the exciting things about the books," he says, "is that for the first time we're beginning to look at what the craftsman does."

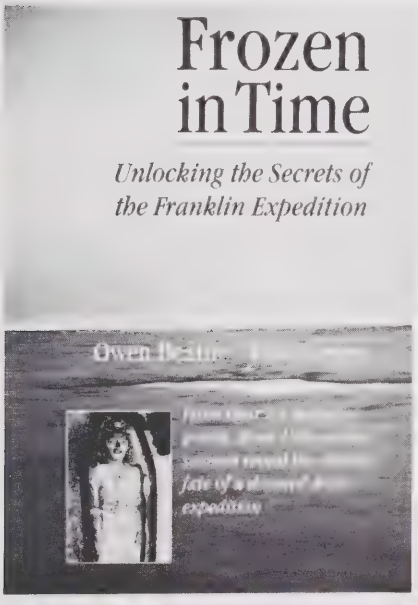
About the time the farm account book was fashioned from a block of willow, there was a trend toward codices, or books with pages, as a practical alternative to the scroll. Sharpe says that the first thing he thought of when he saw the books was the single column stenographer's notepad. "You are looking at a man keeping a record of his day-to-day activity, and this is how he did it. He didn't go out and buy parchment, he used a piece of wood. And I can tell you, from the point of view of common sense, that that kind of record keeping was probably more popular than we have ever acknowledged." In fact, the farm account book had been used before, erased with pumice stone, treated with gesso, and then written on again with ink made from lamp black.

For the original owner, it may have outlived its usefulness, however. It was found with other wood debris next to an oven. Fortunately, the sand swept into the house before the fire was set, and this record of ancient life in the Dakhleh Oasis was preserved for posterity.

HARRY THURSTON

Frozen in Time: Unlocking the Secrets of the Franklin Expedition
Owen Beattie and John Geiger
Western Producer Prairie Books
180 pp. $22.95 (cloth)

ON 19 MAY 1845 TWO SHIPS, HMS *Erebus* and HMS *Terror,* embodying the dreams of a nation, unfurled their sails to the wind that was to push them around the northern coast of America through the elusive Northwest Passage. Comprising 134 officers and men and commanded by a veteran of arctic exploration, Sir John Franklin, the expedition departed from England in a state of euphoria, certain that it would succeed where all previous attempts to travel the passage, some as early as the 16th century, had failed. To find a channel through the ice-choked Arctic archipelago was nothing less than an obsession with English explorers, and the Franklin expedition of 1845 was to be the final thrust for glory. On 19 May of that year, however, no one could foresee that the well-equipped expedition sailing down the Thames would, within three short years, constitute a human tragedy destined to haunt the imaginations of many generations to follow.



Three years of silence from Franklin's expedition became the prelude to an unprecedented era of Arctic exploration centred around the search for Franklin's ships and crew, or at worst, for news of their fate. *Frozen in Time: Unlocking the Secrets of the Franklin Expedition* is very much a part of this story. It is not a book about the search era but, like the 19th-century Franklin search narratives of Elisha Kent Kane, F. L. M'Clintock, and others, it is an account of the search that continues in our own time.

Over a period extending from 1981 to 1986, Dr. Owen Beattie, senior author of this book and a physical anthropologist with the University of Alberta, undertook four separate expeditions to the Arctic in search of the remains of Franklin's crew. The results of Beattie's efforts deepen our understanding of the Franklin tragedy and provide a lesson: the technology developed to assist our endeavours may not match the extent of our dreams.

Frozen in Time: Unlocking the Secrets of the Franklin Expedition is divided into two parts with a total of thirteen chapters. Two appendices are also included: the first provides a list of the officers and crew of the *Erebus* and the *Terror,* and the second lists the major expeditions that took part

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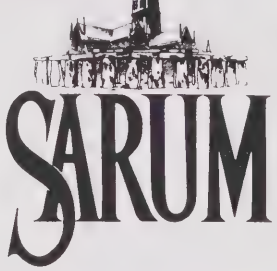

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in the Franklin search. The authors also include a bibliography, which is useful as an introductory source for Franklin literature. The book has been written for the general public and it gives both the context of, and provides new insights into, the Franklin expedition tragedy, while also providing an illustration of the scientific process.

In Part One, entitled "The Skeletons," chapters 1 to 4 provide historical background to the Franklin expedition and the search expeditions that followed. The remaining three chapters detail Beattie's own explorations in 1981 and 1982 along the western and southern shores of King William Island.

Conventional wisdom had concluded that Franklin and his men suffered from starvation and scurvy. This view, however, had not been scientifically proven, and with his expertise in physical and forensic anthropology, Beattie planned to collect skeletal remains in an attempt to find evidence that could prove or disprove the starvation and scurvy theories. He describes, in chapters 5 and 6, the field seasons of 1981 and 1982 during which he and his crew combed the shores of King William Island for skeletal remains. The chapters are written in the style of exploration literature and are interesting for their insight into the rigours of Arctic archaeological survey work. Considering the number of deaths that occurred in 1848 along that stretch of shoreline, Beattie's findings were meagre but the bone samples that were obtained and later analysed proved to be highly significant.

Scurvy caused by vitamin C deficiency was clearly apparent from the "shallow pitting and scaling on the outer surface of the bones." This discovery was no surprise, but it did prove that scurvy was indeed a factor; the disease would have been responsible for causing "weakness, weight loss, and irritability, followed in more severe cases by swollen and bleeding gums, loosening teeth, and spontaneous haemorrhages in almost all parts of the body." An important discovery also came with the undeniable evidence of knife cuts. These give strong support to John Rae's 1854 report, based upon Inuit informants, that some survivors of the Franklin expedition had struggled along on the remains of their dead comrades.

The evidence Beattie amassed by the end of the 1982 field season proved that the expedition had suffered from starvation, scurvy, and cannibalism. But trace-element analysis of the skeletal remains steered Beattie in a new direction and to the formulation of a new theory. Bone from one of Franklin's crew members was found to have an astonishingly high concentration of lead—288 parts per million. Lead levels of that magnitude would result in lead poisoning causing physical and neurological problems that could include anorexia, fatigue, irritability, stupor, paranoia, abdominal pain, and anaemia.

Chapter 7 develops Beattie's theory that the members of the Franklin expedition may also have suffered from lead poisoning in addition to starvation and scurvy. Tins—the product of a new technology—in which food was preserved in direct contact with lead solder, as well as lead-glazed pottery and tableware, lead-foil-lined containers, and lead-wicked candles, were possible sources of lead contamination. Bone, however, reflects lifetime exposure to lead. To prove that exposure occurred during the expedition required the analysis of preserved soft tissue. Substantiation of the theory therefore rested in the frozen remains of three buried crewmen found on Beechey Island in 1984, where they had died in 1846.

Part Two, entitled "The Icemen," consists of six chapters, and details the exhumation and autopsies in 1984 and 1986. This section of the book is a moving portrayal of the recovery of the three men, albeit in death, who "survived" to reveal the story of their ordeal.

The authors are careful to note

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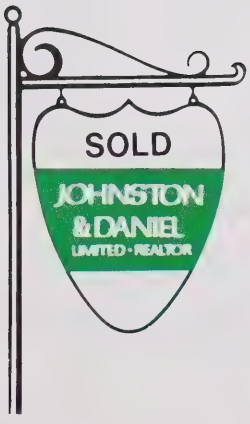

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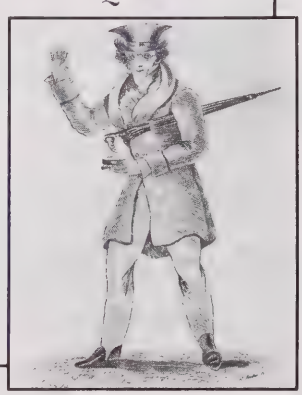

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that there "is no single reason why the expedition failed; it was a deadly combination of factors." Beattie and his scientific team were able to prove that the expedition was indeed plagued with scurvy, tuberculosis, and pneumonia. But Beattie's greatest contribution was the recognition and subsequent proof that lead poisoning was a serious factor—ironically, a factor caused by the technology that was intended to secure success.

Beattie's research, as revealed in this book, has a significance that transcends the theory he was able to prove. Beyond the specific results we are shown a methodology. Increasingly, the barriers that tend to isolate different techniques and approaches are being dismantled.

A number of fields of inquiry have been employed in Beattie's research; among them are forensic anthropology, forensic pathology, palaeoradiology, textile and metallurgical analyses, historical archaeology, history, bacteriology, and virology. In the context of ethnoarchaeological studies, Dr. Robert Janes wrote: "Our understanding of the past is dependent upon the integration of diverse approaches." Dr. Beattie's work shows the value of such a method.

Frozen in Time: Unlocking the Secrets of the Franklin Expedition is a book that contributes to our understanding of a 19th-century tragedy through 20th-century methods and techniques. Whether we are disturbed by the images or harrowed by the concrete evidence that the members of the Franklin expedition underwent terrible suffering, or whether we share with the researchers the satisfaction of coming closer to an understanding of a historical event that has haunted us for so many years, this book must surely inspire and kindle within us a sense of awe for the courage and determination of those men who searched for the Northwest Passage.

Reviewed by KENNETH LISTER,
curatorial assistant in the Department of Ethnology, Royal Ontario Museum

Whale may be from Atlantic

Test results on the whale bone described in my article "The Tail of a Whale" (Volume 22, no. 1) not only indicated that the bone dated from A.D. 1828 plus or minus 125 years if

PHOTOGRAPHY: THE TORONTO STAR

the whale had lived in the Arctic Ocean but also that it dated from A.D. 1531 plus or minus 120 years if it had lived in the Atlantic Ocean.

KEVIN SEYMOUR
DEPARTMENT OF VERTEBRATE PALAEONTOLOGY

Statistics and real life

I would like to tell you how much I enjoyed Stephen Jay Gould's article about baseball (Volume 21, no. 4). It's a great application of a basic statistical model (the Bernoulli process) to a popular aspect of everyday life. It is precisely the sort of article I would use to begin a statistics class, as it would be great for motivating the students, and showing them that statistics have interesting things to say about real life. I've mentioned the article to a number of academic colleagues and friends, all of whom were also interested. And I know of one very senior deputy minister in Ottawa who circulated copies to his colleagues and friends in the press gallery. I think that the article has had, and will continue to have, a real impact. Keep up the good work.

SANDFORD F. BORINS
PROFESSOR OF MANAGEMENT, YORK UNIVERSITY, TORONTO

A letter from Andrews

Editor's note: The following letter from Roy Chapman Andrews, who as leader of the Central Asiatic Expedition of the American Museum of Natural History was the first westerner to discover dinosaur fossils in the Gobi Desert, was sent to Richard Storr, in December 1926. Richard, who was thirteen years old at the time, is now a retired professor of history. He recalled the letter after having read "Digging for Dinosaurs in China" (Volume 21, no.4).

Dear Richard,

Your father tells me that you are greatly interested in exploration. That is fine. Some day perhaps you will carry on the work which I have only begun now. There will be much to do for many years in the future so don't think that everything will be explored before you are old enough to begin. I am enclosing a few pieces of the original egg shell of a dinosaur found in the Gobi Desert. A Merry Xmas to you.

Sincerely,

Roy Chapman Andrews, Leader

The new look of Rotunda

Just a note to congratulate you on the new look of *Rotunda*. The quality of the colour printing is excellent so that the photographs, particularly of the birds in the Borneo forest, were arresting. As usual, for the lay reader, the articles were well-aimed, readable and interesting.

ARNOLD EDINBOROUGH
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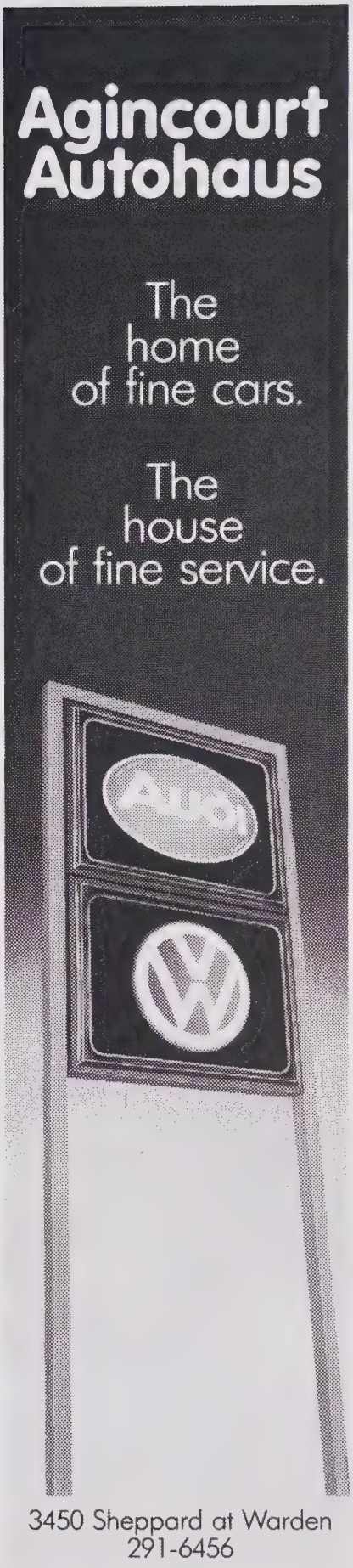

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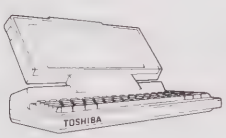

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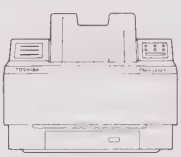

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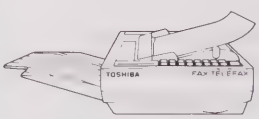

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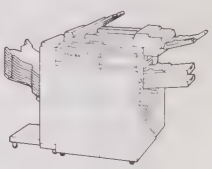

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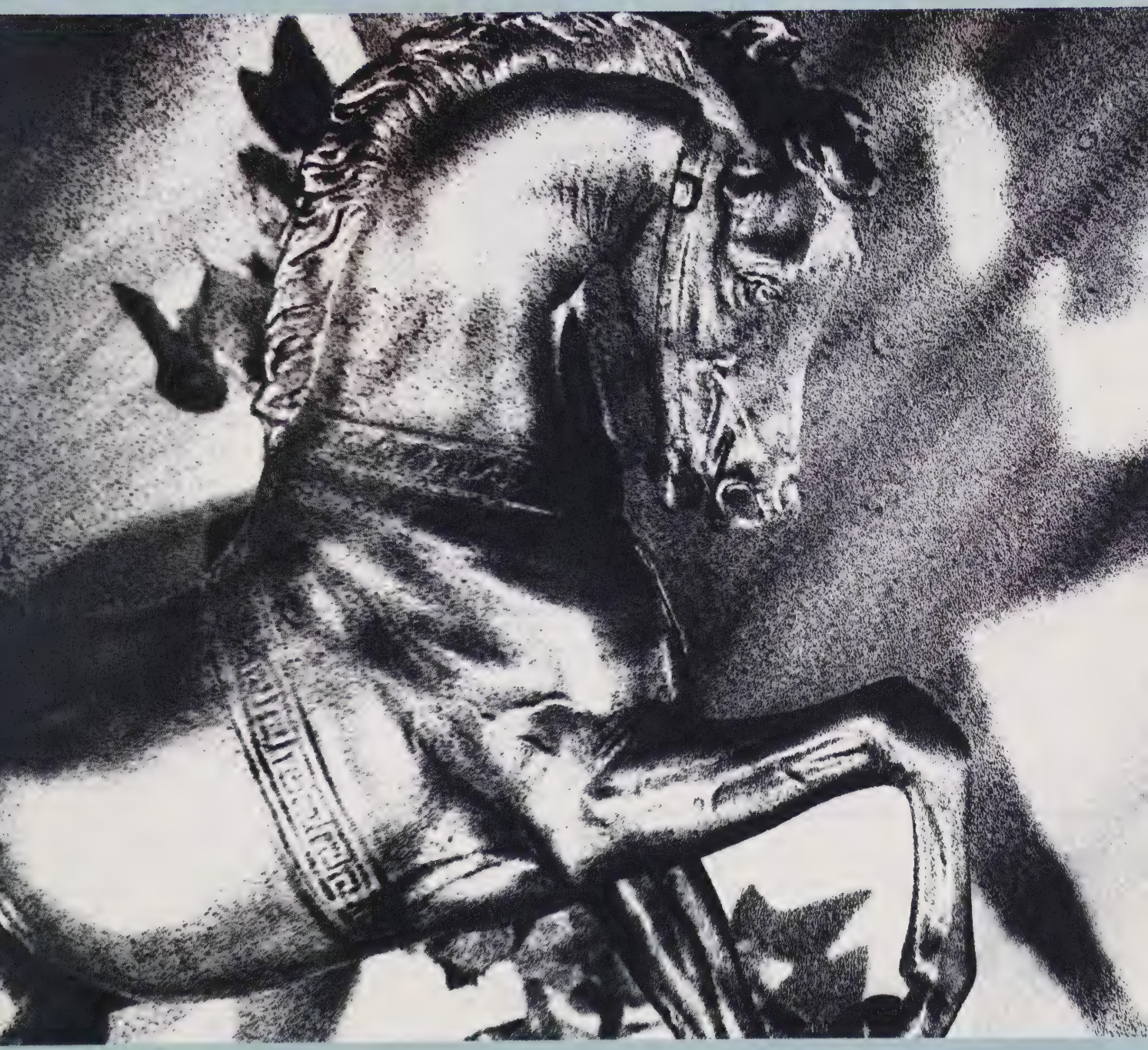

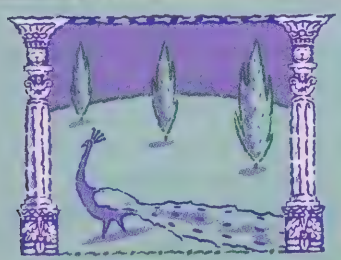

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You're Getting Warm

1. The novelist C. P. Snow contended that a literate person should be familiar with the second law of thermodynamics. Among other things, this law describes as impossible a particular interaction between a hot body and a cold one. What is that impossible relationship?

2. A British scientist has suggested that the avoidance of heat was the prime factor behind one of the most important steps in the evolution of our species, *Homo sapiens*. What was that step?

3. Although for years fever was dreaded as a sympton of ill health requiring immediate and aggressive treatment, research on fever has shown that it plays an important role in minimizing the duration and severity of infections. The animals used to illustrate this point were lizards. What makes lizards especially suitable for experiments on fever?

4. Many flowers in the High Arctic are shaped like tiny satellite dishes and insects are often found snuggled down in the centre of the flowers. Why are the flowers that shape, and why are the insects there?

5. Even though polar bears are white, their hair contains no white pigment. Each strand of hair has a hollow core, and sunlight entering the hair scatters and reflects from the inner surface of the core, producing the whiteness that we see. (Ice is also white because of scattered sunlight.) Some scientists have speculated that the polar bear's hollow hair may also keep it warm. How?

THE ANSWERS

1. Heat can't pass from the cooler body to the warmer one, unless there is some form of interference. That may seem intuitively obvious (ice cubes don't grow when they are put in a drink), but this is only one facet of the second law of thermodynamics. The law primarily concerns entropy.

Entropy is the amount of disorder, or "mixtupness" (as the 19th-century American scientist J. Willard Gibbs called it) of any situation. In nature the amount of entropy increases as time passes: the energy of oil, for instance, is organized in its chemical bonds, but those bonds are broken and the en-

ergy converted to heat if the oil is burned. Heat is just the random motions of molecules, a disorderly situation resulting from the breakup of the orderly chemical bonds. As the heat increases, the random motion increases, which creates greater disorder and entropy. The arrangement of coathangers in a closet is another perfect example of the increase of entropy with time. By the way, if heat could flow from a cooler to a warmer object in defiance of the second law, you could build a perpetual motion machine—a steam engine that would keep its water boiling by drawing heat from its cooler surroundings.

2. Standing on two legs. Pete Wheeler, a physiologist at Liverpool Polytechnic, thinks that we shifted from four legs to two in order to cool off. He points out that standing on two legs exposes sixty per cent less surface area to the sun. Not only that, the surface area that is exposed, the head and shoulders, is to a large extent protected by one of the few patches of hair we have left. Hair reflects and re-radiates heat before it reaches the skin. Standing upright also means that heat loss from the body is more efficient, because wind speeds rise and air temperatures fall as distance from the ground increases. Our ancestors are thought to have moved out from the trees to the open African savannah, and adopting a heat-minimizing posture might have been crucial to their (and our) survival.

3. Because lizards are cold-blooded, they can only manipulate their body temperature by moving in or out of the sun, or closer to or further from another source of heat. Therefore they offer a unique opportunity to study the effects of high body temperature on infections. Matthew Kluger at the University of Michigan showed in the 1970s that lizards infected with a reptile-specific bacterium spent

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ROTUNDA MAGAZINE

more time than usual at the hot end of their enclosure so that their body temperature would rise three to four degrees Fahrenheit above normal. In effect, they were creating their own fever. Kluger showed that this behaviour had a clear impact upon survival: three-quarters of the sick lizards forced to live with normal body temperatures died of their infections, while the majority of those living at higher temperatures survived. Some lizards were even given a fever-suppressing drug, like aspirin, which prevented their temperature from rising even though they were allowed to move into warm areas. They too suffered high mortality. Why fever helps against infection isn't fully understood, but it's thought that a substance released from white blood cells during fever, called endogenous pyrogen, may prevent bacteria from gaining access to iron in the blood. Without that iron, the bacteria cannot proliferate.

4. Not only are the flowers shaped like satellite dishes but just as a satellite dish is pointed at the transmitting satellite, the flowers turn and track the sun—sometimes for the full twenty-four hours of Arctic summer daylight—as it moves across the sky. As a result, sunlight is continually reflected from the petal surface and focused on the reproductive organs: stigma, style, ovary, and stamens. This, in turn, causes the temperature inside the flower to be as much as ten degrees Celsius higher than the outside air temperature, a significant advantage in an environment where the flowers only have a few short weeks to become fertilized, ripen the ovary, and develop seeds.

Of course the insects are sunbathing, and measurements have shown that their body temperatures also increase by ten to fifteen degrees or more. The presence of the insects benefits the flowers because these insects are also known to help pollination.

5. For ten years the idea has been floating around the scientific community that the polar bear's hair, which is hollow, acts as a light pipe, transmitting the ultraviolet portion of sunlight from the tip of the hair down to the bear's skin, thereby warming it. The idea was that light would reflect back and forth down the mirrored inner shaft of each hair. This image was so persuasive that even the U.S. Army was thinking of designing hairy cold-weather clothing.

Alas, zoologist David Levine of the University of Guelph has dashed cold water on the idea. He points out that ultraviolet light is *absorbed*, not reflected, by polar bear hair, making it unlikely that ultraviolet light would travel anywhere within the hair, let alone all the way down to the bear's skin. However, when it comes to plain old visible light, the story is different. Some of it does reach the bear's skin and warms it. But many hairy animals, not just polar bears, warm up this way—even woolly bear caterpillars.

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